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Eduardo Paolozzi: From Utopia to Dystopia

1928 - 1958

by

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Thesis

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Declaration

This is to certify that that the work contained within has been composed by me and is entirely my own work. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

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Abstract

This thesis explores the early career of Eduardo Paolozzi (1924 – 2005), focusing in particular on his artworks of the 1940s and 1950s. Predominantly known for his post-World War Two activity as an eclectic artist, designer and pedagogue, Paolozzi emerged as an experimental alternative to the modernist formalism of Henry Moore's generation and remains one of the acknowledged leaders of an artistic movement that helped invigorate the British art scene. The sheer volume and diversity of his creative output, however, its wide-ranging use of descriptive materials and profuse interests, has legitimised the now standard reception of his work as one of wilful, perhaps even whimsical, eclecticism. Thus, he has become simultaneously codified as British artist, child of Surrealism, and 'father of Pop.' The thesis presented here intends to offset the standard historiography of Paolozzi's artistic development, employing instead an interpretation grounded in the artist's Italian roots and which takes into consideration his exposure to wider avant-garde movements and trends. Such a re-evaluation enables sense to be made of the imagery and ideas present in his work, and gives shape to the superficial incoherence of the 'fragmentary' phases apparently marking his output. What emerges is an alternative trajectory, one that moves from the early collages, full of *L'Esprit Nouveau* and Futuristic enthusiasm for the New World, through his use of Greco-Roman art, mechanisation and *Uomo Novo* during the years of Fascism, to the more concerted reassessment of the modern post-War world that is embodied in his satirical brutalist sculptures and proto-Pop demythologies, these last works mapping an emergence out of totalitarianism and the rediscovery of 'democratic and international values.' In this new analysis, Paolozzi stands as one of the few international figures who consistently developed a mature and idiosyncratic rationale through which a new, non-Fascist modernism was reformulated.

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Daniel Herrman must be mentioned for his significant contribution to my specific area of enquiry with regard to Paolozzi's work. His exhibition 'Echoes of Antiquity – Eduardo Paolozzi and Traditional Sources,' staged whilst Curator at the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh, was instrumental in raising my awareness of Paolozzi's critical engagement with Italian modernist art. Daniel has been an ever-present source of inspiration and has become a lifelong friend. The same can be said of Dr. John Paul Stonard, who has written extensively and attentively on Paolozzi. An outstanding scholar and writer, John Paul has become more than a research associate; he has become one of my inner circle. I look forward to future collaborations with them both.

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Introduction

They fastened upon Laocoön, as he hurried, weapon in hand,
To help the boys, and lashed him up in their giant whorls.
With a double grip round his waist and his neck, the scaly creatures
Embrace him, their heads and throats powerfully poised above him.

(Book II of 'The Aeneid' by Virgil, translated by C. Day Lewis)

The architect Colin St. John Wilson noted how 'prodigiously generous to the Royal Academy' the artist Eduardo Paolozzi was, recalling how 'he donated a whole lot of stuff to the library.'¹ The *enfant terrible* of the 1950s and 1960s British art scene became a Royal Academician in 1979, and amongst those artifacts Paolozzi bequeathed to the institution was a cast of the Roman copy of the Greek sculpture *Laocoön and his Sons* (c.10 – 20 AD) (Figure 1).² The Laocoön group reappeared in numerous adaptations in the artist's work, suggesting it held some significance for the artist. The poetic image of struggle between man and beast certainly invokes personal and metaphorical parallels with Paolozzi's life and work: it could be understood as symbolic of Paolozzi's struggle with the English art establishment; it might assert the artist's desire to impose his Italian identity within the British artistic elite, or more simply be revealing of his fascination for monumental classicism, a genre of art which provided demonstrable instruction for his own practice. Alternatively, it might be construed as a meditation on the relationship between humankind and machine in the twentieth century, a dialogue which Paolozzi returned to time and again in his career most notably in *Towards a New Laocoön* (1963), or as a warning gesture of some future affliction yet to be faced by the human race.³ The Laocoön seems to present in one compound image many of those issues and themes apparent in the artist's life and work on which this thesis intends to offer new perspectives. The questions it raises identify pertinent aspects of the

¹ Colin St. John Wilson reprinted in an interview about Eduardo Paolozzi with Richard Cork published in The Royal Academy Magazine online 27 January – 9 June 2013.

² According to classical myth Laocoön warned his fellow Trojans against taking the wooden horse into their city which enraged the god Poseidon –who favoured the Greeks– thus sending his serpents to reap revenge. The grouping describes Laocoön and his sons being strangled by the sea serpents sent by Poseidon.

³ Stephen Feeke expands further upon this, see (ed.). 2007. *Towards a New Laocoön* (Henry Moore Institute).

artist's cryptic artistic persona and complexity of vision which will be explored in what follows.

Eduardo Paolozzi (1924 – 2005) has a worldwide reputation predominantly for his post-World War II activity as an eclectic artist, designer and pedagogue. He exemplified his own adage that 'art is a long word that can be stretched' in his ability for combining a holistic understanding of artistic praxis with a maverick irreverence for existing protocol.⁴ He was in the forefront of an artistic movement that helped to invigorate the art scene in Britain, in particular sculpture, and to move it towards a more thorough integration with the world of commerce, technology and industry.⁵ Emerging as an experimental alternative to the modernist formalism of Moore's generation,⁶ Paolozzi sought to dispel the separateness of art from life.⁷ The volume and diversity of his creative output– both in terms of its wide ranging use of descriptive materials and multiple and various interests– has legitimised the now orthodox understanding of his work as being inconsistent and wilfully eclectic. Thus, Paolozzi's works have been interpreted as lacking any clearly defined character, and as such have been perceived as whimsical. It is precisely owing to a partial reading of Paolozzi's cultural inheritance, and a misconstruing of his motivations and that he has become codified as a British artist working out of a Surrealist idiom.⁸

However, many critical and historical accounts prefer to underplay or ignore the fact that Paolozzi was as much an Italian artist as he was a British one; and that in his early career, he was exposed to early twentieth-century Italian culture; and to the exploits of the wider European avant-garde beyond Surrealism, namely;

⁴ Eduardo Paolozzi reprinted in Anne Massey. April 1987. 'The Independent Group: Toward a New Definition,' *The Burlington Magazine*, No. 1009 – Volume 129, p.234.

⁵ Alex Potts. June 2010. *New Brutalism and Pop Art* (The Courtauld Institute of Art), Lecture.

⁶ James Hyman. 2002. *Henry Moore and Geometry of Fear* (James Hyman Gallery exh.cat. 19 Nov 2002 – 18 Jan 2003), p.2.

⁷ Winnifred Konnertz. 1984. *Eduardo Paolozzi*, trans. Dr. David Heath (D Mont Buchverlag Koln), p.43.

⁸ Diane Kirkpatrick. 1970. *Eduardo Paolozzi* (London: Vista Studios), p.4

Cubism, Futurism, Purism, Constructivism and Dada.⁹ A fresh analysis of his oeuvre in light of his Italian cultural heritage, taking into consideration his exposure to historic events at a time of significant political change, together with accompanying avant-garde artistic trends, offer important new perspectives on his career and for Post-war British art in general. Such a re-evaluation makes sense of his use of photo-collage as his choice of medium and the imagery and ideas presented in his work. The repetition of imagery related to aviation, speed, the superman and the war warrior connote aspects of the brave new world celebrated by the Futurists and other Modern artists in the early twentieth century. They were also key themes exploited by State sanctioned artists under Mussolini. Indeed, Paolozzi's earliest works explore the macho image propagandised in Italian Fascist culture; heroism, the New Man, the personality cult, the notion of conquest and of victory through self-sacrifice. Whilst the artist's repetition of these themes is consistent – in particular, his persistence with humankind's relationship with the machine – formative eagerness wanes and skepticism ensues. Paolozzi's fascination with science and science fiction is unerring, but his faith in human nature falters. While the artist sees the possibilities provided by new technologies as infinite he also becomes more aware of humankind's misuse of its abilities.

Through reassessing Paolozzi's works in light of a wider range of cultural and socio-political influences, superficial incoherence in the phases of his development are given shape. From fresh analysis, it is clear Paolozzi's earliest collages are in sympathy with early twentieth century utopian conceptualizations of the machine – in particular a Futurist euphoria for speed, industrialization and combat and more meditative iterations about the Machine Age witnessed in the Ozenfant and Le Corbusier's theories paralleling classical with mechanical form – his reliance on 'high' art is equaled with a reliance on the language of forms present in 1940s Italian Fascist popular culture and propaganda which mediated images of metalized effigies and recapitulated Roman grandeur. As Paolozzi is exposed to new ideas

⁹ Nigel Henderson. 1945-55. Personal Papers of Nigel Henderson (Tate Archive, London), reference. TGA 9211.

and to new experiences his relationship with his childhood fascination for the machine becomes more complex and his political allegiances more questioning. Most evidently witnessed in his explorations of popular and throw-away culture in his BUNK series; the artist penetrates beneath the glamorous veneer of Capitalist optimism and reveals with varying degrees of irony the shallow languages of propaganda. A more concerted reassessment of the post-War world is witnessed in his *Psychological Atlas* (1947-9), and well known *Fallen Warrior* series of sculptures (1957-9) which correlate with Francis Bacon's existentialist reflections on the aberrations inflicted on society by Fascism. The provocative deformity and materiality of Paolozzi's post War works are in dialogue with the practices of post-War Italian artists – *Movimento arte Concreta*, *Forma 1*, Alberto Burri and Lucio Fontana – emerging out of totalitarianism, and rediscovering Western European notions of democracy.

To ensure this study is not prejudiced by any ill-fitting approach, I went back to primary source material – the artist's early scrapbooks, little known works made during his time at art college, ephemera Paolozzi collected, together with those more widely exhibited works he created in the 1940s and 50s – to find fertile points of enquiry. This approach involved carefully analysing catalogued and uncatalogued material existing within the artist's estate, the artist's gifts to the Victoria & Albert Museum, Tate and The Royal Academy of Art; his bequests, including the Krazy Kat Archive, studio contents and assorted works housed in the National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh, Jonathan Clark Fine Art and Robin Katz Gallery. It is within Paolozzi's amassed selection of cut and pasted folios, books, letters, pieces of sculpture; sketches, tear-sheets, maquettes and recorded audio interviews that new ways of understanding the artist's work presented themselves. Most significantly, I discuss the importance that Paolozzi's Italian roots played in the formation of his artistic career, together with early life exposure to more international avant-garde practices. The repetition of certain themes: war heroes,

robots, scientific exploration and technological discovery, a keenness for aeroplanes; as well as a prevalent interest with classical forms, advertising, popular culture and the language of propaganda – when considered in relation to Paolozzi's Italian-ness – prompted fertile areas for research. By recasting Paolozzi as an international figure, responding to cultural phenomena and historical events outside of a British context it has been possible to make a fresh appraisal of the artist's work.

Essentially, starting from the ground up, this approach avoids the pitfalls of making assumptions based upon secondary readings of Paolozzi's work. This is not to say that secondary sources were not used, because they were, in particular exhibition catalogues written contemporaneously with Paolozzi's forays into the London art scene introduced by David Sylvester, as well as more recent scholarship dedicated to specific areas of Paolozzi's divergent body of work, most significantly by Eric Stryker and Toby Treves. Nevertheless, the core of this thesis is reliant on primary research put together by returning to Paolozzi's early collage and scrap-books afresh and interpreting them using an essentially biographical approach, by which I mean linking the works to the historical context of the author and then chronologically in terms of their thematic approach. It is from linking the evidence present within the artist's work and collected ephemera with his formative life experiences and more generally against a historical backdrop that it is possible to realise the impact of other European trends and movements to which the artist was exposed in the 1930s, '40s and '50s. By avoiding an analysis purely conducted through the lens of British art history – and refusing to approach Paolozzi as merely the progeny of Moore's English modernism – a new perspective on the artist comes into focus. His exposure to European Modernism started in childhood and encourages a reading of Paolozzi as being as much a part of the utopian artistic *zeitgeist* of the 1930s, as he was responding to Britain's idiosyncratic artistic milieu.

Of course, one of the limitations of my approach has been that conducting a closer analysis of some of Paolozzi's key works, using either a semiotic reading or a

Freudian analysis of relevant tear sheets or collages has not been possible. Adopting divergent approaches to individual works on a case-by-case basis has been avoided not only for the sake of overall consistency, but also owing to the prohibitive restrictions of this thesis's length. Future scholarship would be richly rewarded by paying selective collages more rigorous attention according to both approaches. Each cut and pasted work employs a complex vocabulary derived ultimately from Cubism and Surrealism, together with tactics of propaganda springing from Italian fascist culture and from the consumer-driven world of advertising. More than explorations in textural diversity or whimsical fantasy, Paolozzi's collages are sophisticated inventions of intent. Whilst it has not been possible to unpack each work's seemingly limitless nuances of meaning, broader overviews based on inspecting a large volume of the artist's visual and textural material within a specific time frame have been set out. For example, thematically Paolozzi's work shares recognisable traits with state-sanctioned 'high' and 'low' Italian culture. Furthermore, the artist's tendency to move between realism and abstraction in the late 1940s and '50s mirrors the practices of post-War Italian artists emerging out of totalitarianism, and rediscovering Western European notions of democracy.

Whilst in no way can this thesis be seen to be an exhaustive account of the artist's life and of his life and works between 1928 – 1958, I do believe that its contents reveal an original approach to primary and secondary sources and that it offers a valuable addition to scholarship in the field. In what follows, my research approaches Paolozzi as an artist no more to be considered the one-time father of Pop Art gone stale, but as a figure of international standing who developed a mature and idiosyncratic rationale for his considerable art.

I Eduardo Paolozzi: The Artist of the Present

In all the arts there is a physical component that cannot continue to be considered and treated in the same way as before; no longer can it escape the effects of modern knowledge and modern practice. Neither matter nor space nor time is what, up until twenty years ago, it always was. We must be prepared for such profound changes to alter the entire technological aspect of the arts, influencing invention itself as a result, and eventually, it may be, contriving to alter the very concept of art in the most magical fashion.

(Paul Valery, *Pieces sur l'art*, 1931)

In Eduardo Paolozzi's article *The Iconography of the Present*, published in a 1976 Arts Council of Great Britain touring exhibition catalogue of his work, the artist emphasized how, 'one of the difficult things for an art historian is to decide how much you are going to leave out beyond your subject,' and it is precisely with this point in mind that an alternative reading of his own artistic career will be proposed.¹⁰ Paolozzi was a multi-faceted artist who created a prolific array of works from diverse media using wide-ranging cultural references. Indeed, Frank Whitford has noted that Paolozzi was, 'in the business of breaking down barriers, of defying categories: not merely those erected by custom between various media, but also those invented in order to consign each clan of art, 'high' or 'low, ' 'fine' or 'applied,' 'polite' or 'vulgar' to its own particular ghetto.'¹¹ The artist's perceived iconoclasm, together with the complexity of his seemingly paradoxical idiom, has countervailed more penetrating insights into the origination of his particular metaphysic. In what follows, through an analysis of his formative life experiences, it will be suggested that Paolozzi's early artistic practice was informed by the politicized milieu into which he was raised. Furthermore, it will be argued that his creative vision was predicated on more than juvenile protestations; it asserted a strategic and considered rebellion against prevailing traditions and societal values.

¹⁰ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1976. 'The Iconography of the Present,' *Eduardo Paolozzi: Sculpture, Drawings, Collages and Graphics* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain), p.21.

¹¹ Frank Whitford. 1984. 'Introduction,' *Eduardo Paolozzi: Private Vision – Public Art* (Architectural Association), p.iv.

Paolozzi was born in Leith, Scotland in 1924. He was the child of Italian immigrant parents so he had, as he put it, his 'feet in two worlds.'¹² His physical presence was described as 'impressive,' by his art collage friend Raymond Mason, who also recalled that, 'although he was capable of a delightful smile, his usual expression was the scowl of a champion boxer.' The architect Colin St. John Wilson equates Paolozzi's physical stature and forthright personality with the gigantism of his art, suggesting that, 'Eduardo was the one who had monumentality in his blood...he was Italian, for God's sake, like Michelangelo. I've got a head by him that's about four inches high, but it could be a monumental Roman emperor standing in ruins.'¹³ From a review of the artist's early life it will be proposed that Paolozzi's *Italian-ness* might well go some way toward explaining his longstanding interest in Roman antiquities, his fascination with the machine, and his open hostility towards tradition.

¹² Eduardo Paolozzi. 1988. 'Wonderful World,' reprinted in Robin Spencer (ed.). 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi Writings and Interviews*, (Oxford University Press), p.47.

¹³ Colin St. John Wilson quoted in The Royal Academy of Art online magazine 27 February – 26 May 2013.

II An Artist of ...`a different kind'

A lot of the officers I met in the Colonia had come from Britain and would later go into the Italian army. The Italians in Britain were considered strange and inferior, but when you got to Italy you were a prince.

(Eduardo Paolozzi. 1988. 'Wonderful World,' reprinted in Robin Spencer, *Eduardo Paolozzi: Writings and Interviews*, Oxford University Press, 2000, p.151)

Paolozzi's early years were shaped as much by Italian cultural influences as they were British ones. If he was British in the classroom, he was Italian at home. Chameleon-like in his adoption of languages, as he said he was 'bobbing about... [speaking] the village Italian, proper Italian and the Scottish of the streets, and proper English.'¹⁴ He described how from an early age he was expected to, 'put on a khaki coat and attend to the various tasks involved in running a small ice-cream shop with ancillary sales of sweets and cigarettes.'¹⁵ His parents, following in the family tradition, worked in the catering industry. A growing influx of Italian immigrants had been entering Britain since the 1880s so by the time Paolozzi's grandparents arrived there was a predetermined 'place' for them to live in the working-class district of Edinburgh. The family had been in ownership of the shop since 1920 and to them it represented a very physical assertion of their émigré family's success in making good in a new community and in a different country. A glimmer of pride can be apprehended in a photograph taken of Paolozzi's father Rudolpho who was captured standing outside his well 'dressed' shop window in the 1930s (Figure 2).¹⁶ Supporting their relatives back home increased their commitment to hard work. From his childhood memories Paolozzi recalls:

¹⁴ Eduardo Paolozzi. 10th June 1995. taken from a transcript of an interview with Frank Whitfield (British Library).

¹⁵ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1994. 'Memoirs,' reprinted in Robin Spencer (ed.). 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi Writings and Interviews* (Oxford University Press), p.49.

¹⁶ Richard Hoggart. (1957) 2009. *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of a Working Class Life* (Pelican) Hoggart grew up in the working class district of Leeds in the 1920s and 30s, and his account of the time provides an interesting parallel to the experiences of Paolozzi. Hoggart details an entire order, from the centrality of the neighbourhood to group life, to characteristic attitudes to fate and luck, and (influentially) ideas of 'Us' (working-class) and 'Them' (bosses and the rest) to understanding the inequalities of life and the way things work. Hoggart contributes decisively to a movement that would later find its home, directed by Hoggart, in an off-shoot of the Birmingham English Literature department in 1963: 'Cultural Studies'. In *The Uses of Literacy*, Hoggart, along with (in different ways) Raymond Williams and E. P. Thompson, radically overturns the meaning of 'culture' used in any kind of literary studies. As we will see later, Paolozzi's attitudes toward art education show some clear parallels (as do the reforms he set about making with Hamilton and others) to make both the practice and entry into further education more inclusive.

...the tasks were endless – cleaning, washing, and scrubbing the cellar floor where the milk was boiled and the custard was made for the ice-cream. If not working in the front of the shop, certainly from an early age I helped my mother.¹⁷

The shop was bedecked with branded products offering affordable luxuries. The Street sign boasted, 'High-Class Confectionary,' and behind the glazed shop frontage labels of advertised products of Gold Flake cigarettes, Bovril, Fry's and Cadbury's chocolate amongst a bedazzling array of others, all of which offered the young Paolozzi a glimpse of a better world being apprehended.¹⁸ Even in these his earliest days, much like Andy Warhol, Paolozzi found there to be something tantalisingly democratic about consumer goods; the high-coloured optimism they offered was available to anyone who could afford to buy them.¹⁹

Italian traditions were also kept alive; Paolozzi remembered obediently returning home from school at lunchtimes to eat tagliatelli or risotto with his parents. He recalled his mother, 'like any peasant woman from her village,' cooking and preparing food, 'in the style inherited from her mother who in turn carried out her duties as if still living in the mountains of central Italy' (photograph of Paolozzi with his mother, Figure 3).²⁰ His father too would entertain what Paolozzi described as, 'village rituals,' dutifully killing and bleeding a cockerel on Saturdays in preparation for Sunday lunch after Catholic Mass.²¹ One of Paolozzi's earliest memories was travelling to Italy to be 'shown off' to his extended family, the memory of seeing a pig being killed when aged three left an indelible mark.²² Nigel Henderson's photographs of the small village of Viticuso, situated not far from Rome, taken in the mid to late 1940s when accompanying Paolozzi on one of his

¹⁷ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1994. 'Memoirs' in Robin Spencer (ed.), 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi Writings and Interviews* (Oxford University Press), p.50.

¹⁸ Robin Spencer (ed). 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi Writings and Interviews* (Oxford University Press), p.15. Branding fast denoted a level of quality expectation. Prior to this codification of a product's composition being controlled it was more common, especially for lower-earning households, to buy black-market goods which were often unreliable. Buying into a brand gave the consumer assurance in their purchase.

¹⁹ Sarat Maharaj. 1991. 'Pop art's pharmacies: kitsch, consumerist objects and signs, the unmentionable,' reprinted in *Pop Art: an International Perspective* (London: The Royal Academy of Arts), p. 340. Andy Warhol was the son of working-class immigrants from north-eastern Slovakia.

²⁰ Eduardo Paolozzi 1995. Interview with Frank Whitford (British Library).

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

frequent trips to where his family originated, captured how rural village life was.²³ Goats and donkeys still roamed the cobbled streets, goods were still being bartered for in the village market, men still worked in the fields and skinned cattle, and women remained dressed in the same peasant clothing they would have worn almost one hundred years earlier.²⁴ It was a village where time had stopped still. It was to escape the rural poverty of the 'old' Italy, and to embrace modernity that Paolozzi's immediate family had left.²⁵

A duty to the family, to the Church and to continuing traditions, explains Paolozzi's experience of feeling 'strange and inferior' in Edinburgh.²⁶ A view which has been corroborated by historian Wendy Ugolini who has revealed how the Italian diaspora was just as susceptible to racial hostility as any other ethnic group.²⁷ The additional obligation Italians felt toward Mussolini further aggravated the societal divide in the led up to World War II.²⁸ Paolozzi's father, like many Italians of his generation, had been dissatisfied by the management of the country under Giolitti who maintained control by playing off Left against Right wing factions in the Italian parliament. He encouraged the Unions, allowed socialists into his cabinet, and resigned every time the consensus among the tiny ruling class in Italy gave way before some new crisis. Italy was exhausted, the tourist trade and export trade had come to a standstill and there was large-scale unemployment throughout the

²³ The first trip to Italy documented in the Tate Archive was in 1927 see the personal Papers of Nigel Henderson (Tate Archive, London), reference: TGA 9211.

²⁴ Nigel Henderson photographs of Viticuso, Italy, Tate Archive 9211.9.6.148 (unable to reproduce for copyright reasons). Henderson captures the everyday working habits of the sleepy village, from the men skinning cattle, to the women carrying goods on their heads, to close-ups of baked clay drinking jugs, basket chairs, brooms and objects of everyday use, to the interior of a grocer's store complete with a shop assistant rolling a cigarette. He captures the pass-time of men gambling in the street, or the rogue road-side merchant selling postcards of pretty female sitters for a few pennies a time, women fruit picking or making beds, men welding in a blacksmith's forge. He documents the war memorial of three soldiers.

²⁵ Matthew Affron and Mark Antliff (ed.). 1997. *Fascist Visions – Art Ideology in France and Italy* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey), p.13.

²⁶ Paolozzi, 1995.

²⁷ Wendy Ugolini. 4 Sept. 2009. *Narratives of 'not belonging': Recovering Italian Scottish Experience*, written for a conference, 'Migrants and the Making of Modern Scotland: Comparing Historical Accounts of Migrant Life' (University of Strathclyde) lecture notes

²⁸ Edward R Tannenbaum. 1972. *The Fascist Experience: Italian Society and Culture, 1922 – 1945*, (New York), p.17.

country.²⁹ The problem of unemployment was aggravated by runaway inflation; the lira had only one-fifth of its pre-war value and Italy's lack of competitiveness in industry with the rest of Europe.³⁰ Rudolpho like many Italians was looking for a solution to Italy's problems when Benito Mussolini arrived on the political scene. In 1921, the first self-proclaimed Fascist party was founded by Mussolini who promised to restore health, moral order and a sense of purpose to Italy's respective national communities.³¹ Paolozzi remembers his father attending National Fascist Party meetings donning the party's enamel badge which was red, white and green with a fascia.³²

Paolozzi's early years, then, were a somewhat unusual experience of British culture as seen through 'outsider' Italian eyes. More importantly for the purposes of what follows, Paolozzi's Italian identity was interrelated with the aspirational Mussolini's Empire building Fascism. Rudolpho would tune in to listen to Mussolini speak on the radio and he erected 'a sort of shrine to *il Duce*' at the back of the shop.³³ Each day, as Paolozzi recalls, he would 'put the positions where the Italian army advanced from the north and up from the south;' on a map of Abyssinia - there were even 'pictures of the generals.'³⁴ Given the fervency of Rudolpho's belief in Fascism as a way out of the Great Depression and to build a better future for Italy by investing in mechanised industry stimulated by nationalist ideology, it is no wonder he was eager for his son to stay in touch with the 'fatherland.'³⁵ Each summer for eight years Paolozzi was sent to a Fascist Youth Camp Colonie Marina XXVIII Ottobre, Cattolica for three months of the year, to be trained in the ways of Fascism to become a would-be colonist of the new Roman Empire (Figure 4).³⁶

²⁹ Martin Blinkhorn. 2006. *Mussolini and Fascist Italy* (Routledge), p.16-24

³⁰ R. J. B Bosworth. 2007. *Mussolini's Italy: Life Under the Fascist Dictatorship, 1915-1945* (Penguin Books), p.45-57

³¹ Ibid

³² Eduardo Paolozzi. 1988. 'Wonderful World' in Robin Spencer (ed). 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi Writings and Interviews* (Oxford University Press), p.47.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1995. taken from a transcript of an interview with Frank Whitford (British Library).

³⁵ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1988. 'Wonderful World,' in Robin Spencer ed., 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi Writings and Interviews* (Oxford University Press), p.47.

³⁶ Colonia was designed by Clemente Busiri-Vici (1887 – 1965) in 1932.

He was trained from *Figli della Lupa* (6 -7 years), to *Balilla* (8 – 10 years), then *Balilla Moschettieri* (11 – 12 years) and *Avantguardisti* (13 – 14 years), before ceasing his training as *Avantguardisti Moschettieri* (15 – 17 years) when the war broke out.³⁷ The Fascist indoctrination of youth fell into three main categories: firstly, *Volkskörper* (German, meaning, 'body of the nation') – this was the enforcement of physical exercises to encourage competitiveness and to build a new generation of healthy and superior individuals to serve the state in accordance with *La Dottrina del Fascismo* (Figure 5).³⁸ Secondly, military training to be equipped to fight: as a consequence boys were allocated uniforms, which Paolozzi recalls as being 'a black-shirt, sailor's hat and white trousers' with a 'shaved head,' they carried wooden rifles and paraded around executing ritual exercises such as flag-raising and pledging oaths of allegiance (Figure 6).³⁹ The third element was daily political instruction; this took the form of reciting the Fascist commandments and creeds. There was a strong element of ritual in every aspect of the boys training, both in their recitations and activities borrowed from Scouting and Catholic ceremonials (Figures 7).⁴⁰

These sorts of state-subsidised camps were a corner stone of Fascism. They reinforced core Fascist beliefs that individual's owed primary allegiance to the state, and that youth would shape the future. Paolozzi had nothing but favourable memories of the summers he spent at the Colonie, he remembers being, 'treated as a little prince,' 'the future,' charged with helping Italy to 'regain its former empires, hence the conquest of Abyssinia and Tripoli and so on.'⁴¹ It was only later toward the end of his life in the 1990s Paolozzi revealed, 'I certainly didn't think of myself as a Fascist, but I had been indoctrinated.'⁴² Every element of the Colonia experience

³⁷ Patrick Duerden. 2008. 'Fascism Abandoned' in Dan Dubowitz ed. *Fascismo Abbandono– The Children's Colonie of Mussolini's Italy* (Dewi Lewis Publishing), p.6.

³⁸ Giovanni Gentile and Benito Mussolini. 1932. *La Dottrina del Fascismo*, Milan reprinted online at <http://litgloss.buffalo.edu/mussolini/text.shtml> 'For Fascism, the State is an absolute, before which individuals and groups are relative. Individuals and groups are 'thinkable' only in so far as they are the state.'

³⁹ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1988. p. 40. 'Wonderful World,' *ibid*, Paolozzi remembers being one of 10,000 boys who trained to perform gymnastics displays in front of Mussolini.

⁴⁰ Duerden 2008, p.6.

⁴¹ Paolozzi 1997, p.5.

⁴² Roger Griffin (ed.). 1995. *Fascism* (Oxford University Press), p.23.

was designed to make Fascism something desirable enough to submit willingly to its service (Figure 8). As Lauro De Bosis, in *Story of My Death* (1933), reflected on the situation at the time 'Italy has been turned into a great prison where children are taught to adore their chains.'⁴³ Boys like Paolozzi who came from modest homes would have shared his enthusiasm for the recreational activities, comradeship and luxury accommodation, as he recalls:

The place I went year after year was on the Adriatic, and it was futuristically built, three ship-looking buildings, and there was a sort of parade ground with a flag, and there was a modern dining hall with glass and steel doors that were raised.⁴⁴

Colonie Marina distilled within its mechanized forms the essence of Sant Elia's manifesto published in *Lacerba*, 1914: 'the new architecture is the architecture of cold calculation, of daring courage, of simplicity; it is the architecture of reinforced concrete, of iron, of glass.'⁴⁵ The architectural plan for the camp visually simulated the experience of being on a naval ship to ready the boys for war action: Colonie Marina's large machine-honed, white-washed buildings which Paolozzi described as 'hull-shaped' resembled a fleet of warships.⁴⁶ The semi-circular stairways were like prows, handrails and ramps recalled railings and gangways. The port-hole windows and flagpoles further emphasized the nautical theme. Nothing was left to chance, Fascist symbols, images and sculptures of il Duce, emblems and motifs were added to maximize propagandist effect.⁴⁷ The Futurist architects' passions for symbols of the machine age were driven by a fanatic's belief in the transformative powers of the aesthetic. They were enthusiastically supportive of technological achievements of the machine age; the white telephones beloved of Fascist cinema, the Littorine railway trains of the Ferrovie dello Stato, and the Savoia-Marchetti sea-

⁴³ Laura de Bosis. 1933. *The Story of my Death*, trans. Ruth Draper (Faber & Faber Ltd., London)

⁴⁴ Paolozzi 1988, p.47.

⁴⁵ Guido Ballo. 1990. 'Sant'Elia and Futurism', in *Futurism and the Architecture of Sant'Elia*, Accademia Italiana della Arte e delle Arti Applicate, (Nouve Edizioni Gabriele Mazzotta), p.7.

⁴⁶ Banham, Reyner. 1960. *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (Connecticut: Praeger)

⁴⁷ Penny Lewis. 2008. 'A Road Trip to Find Fascism's Modernist Treasures' in Dan Dubowitz ed., *Fascismo Abbandono – The Children's Colonie of Mussolini's Italy* (Dewi Lewis Publishing), p.2 'Colonia Signs such as 'Believe, Obey, Fight' were posted on the walls, and mass reproduced images of il Duce.

planes, in consequence they built buildings that looked like machines in the belief that the Fascist utopia would be brought about by such architectural manifestations. Paolozzi's early scrapbooks betray the artist was enthusiastic about the same technological advancements (Figure 9).⁴⁸

The pristine surfaces and well-proportioned structure of Colonie Marina was close in style with Rationalism. Rational Architecture (*l'Architettura Razionale*) thrived in Italy from the 1920s to the 1940s. Rationalism expressed the ideals of totalitarianism, whilst maintaining the vanguard practices of the International Style (the expression of liberal democracy).⁴⁹ It provided the perfect vocabulary and political iconography for the Colonie to serve the Fascist regime, as well as tangible and emblematic symbolic forms of the 'higher' ideals behind the dictates of il Duce. The compressed energies captured within spiraling staircases are symbolic of the spirit of victory intended to be realized on the battlefields; the plate-glass suggestive of political transparency; and the hard-edged surfaces emblemizing masculine strength.⁵⁰ Every detail promoted a dynamic Italy soon to come into being, and embodied a modern *zeitgeist*.⁵¹ Ignoring the psychological impact that these spaces made in indoctrinating inhabitants would be to overlook a substantive truth in the fabrication of Paolozzi's formative worldview. Given the positive association Paolozzi had with the times he spent in the Colonie, together with his formative exposure to Italian culture and Fascist propaganda at home and abroad it will be suggested in what follows that these aesthetics of power –namely, a mix of forward-thinking Futurism, and backward-looking Imperial State-sanctioned neo-classicism,

⁴⁸ George P. Mraz. 1961. 'Italian Fascist Architecture: Theory and Image,' *Art Journal*, Vol.21, No.1, Autumn, p.8.

⁴⁹ D. Medina Lasansky. 2004. *The Renaissance perfected : architecture, spectacle, and tourism in fascist Italy* (State University Pennsylvania), p.IV. In 1926, a group of young architects – Sebastiano Larco, Guido Frette, Carlo Enrico Rava, Adalberto Libera, Luigi Figini, Gino Pollini, and Giuseppe Terragni (1904–43) declared themselves 'Gruppo 7', and published their 'Note' in *Rassegna Italiana*. They declared their intent to strike a middle ground between the classicism of the *Novecento Italiano* movement and the industrially-inspired architecture of Futurism.

⁵⁰ Penny Lewis 2008, p.2 *Colonia Novarese* (1934) was designed like a giant 'fascio' from the air its silhouette so similar to a warship that it attracted attacks by allied aircraft in WWII, whereas *Colonia Rosa Maltoni Mussolini* (1925 – 35) resembled an aeroplane from the skies. Slogans were painted on walls with dictums 'Believe- Obey-Fight,' and murals and sculpture of *Il Duce* were prominently displayed to make the young visitors aware of whom they were to be grateful to for being there. There were as Penny Lewis has observed many elements of the *Colonia* which were profoundly evocative of the prescriptive qualities of the regime, that is has become difficult to separate the architecture from the politics.

⁵¹ Le Corbusier. 1998. *Essential Le Corbusier: L'Esprit Nouveau Articles* (Architectural Press), p.33-56.

State spectacles and 'low' art forms of popular propaganda—present an illuminating alternative explanation for Paolozzi's art-making practices. By taking Paolozzi's exposure to Fascist cultural influences into account it might be possible to offer an explanation as to why he felt so 'utterly alien among English sculptors' and furthermore to make better sense of the diversity of his work.⁵²

In a late interview, Paolozzi recounted:

I was in Rome when the war between Britain and Germany started, but we were there...10,000 boys were going to do gymnastics in front of Mussolini, and we were under canvas at a suburb of Rome called Montesacro.⁵³

A year later, after choosing to return to his family in Britain rather than staying for the duration of the war in Italy, Paolozzi's family shop was ransacked and both Rudolpho and Paolozzi were arrested for being Fascist sympathizers.⁵⁴ Whilst Rudolpho was lost onboard the Canada bound *Arandora Star*, Paolozzi at the age of sixteen served a short-term sentence in Saughton Gaol in Edinburgh. On his release, after failing to get an apprenticeship with an engineer, he almost immediately embarked on a career as an artist 'of a different kind.'⁵⁵

⁵² Eduardo Paolozzi. May 1959. 'The Artist sketches an Aesthetic of the Objet Trouve Based on a Conscious Metamorphosis of the Derelict,' *Arts*, New York, and republished as 'Eduardo Paolozzi', in Edouardo Roditi. 1960. *Dialogues on Art*, (Secker & Warburg, London), p.162.

⁵³ Paolozzi 1993, p.8.

⁵⁴ Paolozzi 1993, p.5

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Chapter 1

Part I

Between Utopia and Kitsch

I was actually searching for a way other than what was being offered up; as an alternative art, something that I could identify with even in a slightly autobiographical way...

(Eduardo Paolozzi. 1992. *Memoirs* reprinted in Robin Spencer. 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi: Writings and Interviews*, Oxford University Press, p.121)

In a catalogue text for Eduardo Paolozzi and William Turnbull's joint show at the Hanover Gallery in 1950, David Sylvester wrote, 'Turnbull and Paolozzi are perhaps the most notable exponents, among the younger generation of European artists, of the new method of composition informing the later work of Klee and Masson among others, and the group of sculptures of Alberto Giacometti.'¹ Whilst much has been made of Paolozzi's invention of Pop, and his oeuvre has been largely studied in relation to the cohort of post-war British sculptors, namely, Robert Adams, Kenneth Armitage, Reg Butler, Lynn Chadwick, Geoffrey Clarke, Bernard Meadows, Henry Moore and William Turnbull, little scholarship has been dedicated to explaining the *actual* origins of Paolozzi's early work. The standard art-historical view interprets Paolozzi as a post-war British artist, responding to Henry Moore's formalism on the one hand, and opening up the British art world to a more eclectic range of visual sources located in continental Surrealism on the other. Countering this received wisdom, an alternative interpretation of Paolozzi's wide-ranging themes, diverse materials, and ardent anti-establishment position regarding his formal art training in Britain is proposed here, one that looks outside of the artist's immediate context for possible explanations. Taking up from where Sylvester left off; rather than embedding Paolozzi further as rebel of the 1950s British art scene, a fresh reading of the artist's 1940s and early 1950s works instead situates his creative output within wider European and international artistic trends. This re-evaluation of Paolozzi's photo-collage, early sculpture and works on paper will seek to

¹ David Sylvester. 1950. *Kenneth King, Eduardo Paolozzi, William Turnbull*, exh. cat. (London: Hanover Gallery), n.p.

recognise his practice as a natural response to his exposure to progressive culture and avant-garde art. In what follows, exemplary 1940s and early 1950s works – those both familiar and those less prominently addressed in the literature – will be looked at, and an argument for Paolozzi's active pursuit in forging an artistic language dependent on a pool of European Modernist references, most particularly Italian in origination, will be put forward. Furthermore, it will be suggested that his works, preoccupied with machines, automobiles, flight and Americana, gain in coherence when related to the specific cultural and historical phenomena in which Paolozzi was immersed.

1.1 Paolozzi at the Slade: Retracing 'the Banquet Years'

The really precious images –strong signs and metaphors– were secured in scrapbooks like exotic and rare butterflies mounted in the Natural History Museum.

(Eduardo Paolozzi. 1982. 'Reminiscences of Childhood,' reprinted in Robin Spencer, *Eduardo Paolozzi: Writings and Interviews*, Oxford University Press, 2000, p.92)

It was precisely because he found that the British artistic milieu provided limited creative stimulation for artistic endeavours, that Paolozzi began seeking alternative sources of instruction.² In a late interview Paolozzi said, 'you were never taught anything like modernism, there was a sort of humble attitude that you scraped along and that talent would out.'³ With Nigel Henderson, he went through a process of searching for an alternative to the staid British scene by 'addressing an un-spoilt appetite to a banquet of Modern Art.'⁴ *Fisherman* (1946) and *Fisherman and his Wife* (1946) share a close resemblance with Picasso's early Cubist works made between 1907 and 1909 (Figure 10). This non-traditional way of articulating planes and recesses was indebted to non-Western, in particular African decorated artefacts.⁵ Paolozzi shared Picasso's earlier interest in the art of non-Western cultures. A collection of drawings made whilst he was at Oxford confirm that

² Ibid.

³ Eduardo Paolozzi. 10th June 1993. Interview with Frank Whitford, British Library Audio Collection.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ William, Rubin. September 27, 1984 - January 15, 1985. 'Primitivism' in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern (The Museum of Modern Art, New York).

Paolozzi was a frequent visitor to the Pitt Rivers Museum of anthropological artefacts.⁶ Paolozzi freely admitted his works were 'heavily influenced by Picasso.'⁷ The books he borrowed from Peter Watson gave him the alternative art education he was looking for, furnishing him with a cross-section of Modern art historical references.⁸ Picasso's roughly carved, expressive forms, had a clear influence on the handful of 'Picassoid' sculptures Paolozzi made at this time and showed at the Mayor Gallery in 1947 (the others were *Seagull and Fish*, and *Blue Fisherman*).

As the sculpture school had become intolerable I had spent the previous six months working in the basement...I would make black and white ink drawings heavily influenced by Picasso which were richly represented in books from the shelves of Peter Watson who gave me his benedictions. Peter Watson at that time had bought a bronze chandelier designed by Giacometti and needed help to erect it. Consequently these Picassoid student works were reproduced, thanks to Peter, in the magazine *Horizon* with a wonderful text by Robert Melville, and were exhibited at the Mayor Gallery.⁹

Robert Melville's review of Paolozzi's debut show at the Mayor Gallery in London in 1947 critically apprehended that there was something alien about the artist's presence on the British art scene. Melville described his work as 'barbaric and at the same time more classical in its casual pose than anything the English School can show.'¹⁰

John Davenport, who, Paolozzi recalls, had 'a house full of modern art,' was another important point of departure for the artist's creation of what he terms 'Picasso-esque subjects.'¹¹ Davenport had a keen interest in Picasso, and more particularly the artist's reoccurring preoccupation with the aesthetic of bull fighting. Davenport's enthusiasm for the literature of Ernest Hemingway might explain his interest in the ritual of *aficionados*; the author said of it in his 1932 non-fiction book *Death in the*

⁶ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1973. 'About the Prints: The Artist Talking at an Interview,' interview with C. Hogben and E. Bailey, in F. Whitford et al.: exh. cat. *Bunk. A box-file of images in print*, London (Victoria and Albert Museum), u.p.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ He was introduced to Peter Watson, who ran the London Gallery with Peter Gregory and Desmond Zwemmer through Nigel Henderson's mother Wyn who worked in the Guggenheim Jeune Gallery.

⁹ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1990. 'Memoir,' reprinted in exh. cat. David Robbins (ed.), *The Independent Group: Post-war Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Institute of Contemporary Arts, London), pp.53-60.

¹⁰ Robert Melville. September 1947. *Eduardo Paolozzi at the Mayor Gallery*, *Horizon* TGA 9211/1/1/12.

¹¹ Eduardo Paolozzi. 10th June 1993. Interview with Frank Whitford, British Library Audio Collection.

Afternoon, 'bullfighting is the only art in which the artist is in danger of death and in which a degree of brilliance is left to the fighter's honour.'¹² He commissioned and bought Paolozzi's *Bull* (1946). This vigorously worked maquette, later cast in bronze, reveals an expressionist sensibility which Paolozzi would not revisit in terms of intensity until the early 1950s (Figure 11).¹³ It countered the dominant sculptural presence of Henry Moore in England at this time, whose work Paolozzi interpreted as being imbued with classicism, 'so final and so convincing.'¹⁴ Picasso's handling of the subject has been interpreted in various ways, depending on its context; as a representation of the Spanish people, as a symbol of virility, or as a reflection of Picasso's self-image. Paolozzi's treatment of the theme remains equally ambiguous, but emblematically fitting for an artist who was keen to comment on, and to be a part of a wider ideological framework. Another collage exhibited at his inaugural show, *Oil Lamp* (1947), whose simplicity of colour and form is more redolent of another of Modernism's great figures, Henri Matisse (Figure 12). Paolozzi's use of strong silhouettes from brightly cut and pasted coloured papers, strongly comparable with works which appeared in a compendium of Matisse's 'painting with scissors,' brought together in *Jazz*, published in 1947, confirm Paolozzi was keen to stay abreast of cutting edge techniques.¹⁵

¹² Ernst Hemmingway. 1932. *Death in the Afternoon* (Simon & Schuster), 2002, p.61.

¹³ See part II of this chapter which explores Paolozzi's sculptural practice as part of the wider post-war *Art Informel* art movement which can be identified by its expressive, unfinished appearance.

¹⁴ Penelope Curtis and Fiona Russell. 2003. 'Henry Moore and the Post-War British Landscape: Monuments Ancient and Modern,' reproduced in Jane Beckett and Fiona Russell (ed.), *Henry Moore: Critical Essays* (Ashgate), p.128.

¹⁵ André Verdet. 1952. *Prestiges de Matisse*(Paris), pp.64-5.

1.2 A Very 'Un-English' Artist

Nigel Henderson recounts how Paolozzi 'despised' the teachers and most of his contemporaries at the Slade.¹⁶ He remembered how Paolozzi could be quite 'overbearing,' and would 'shake up the sediment inside' to 'make possible a re-orientation towards the world,' echoing Apollinaire's apocryphal description of Picasso in *Les Peintres Cubistes* (1913).¹⁷ The most compelling reason for Paolozzi's displeasure with his art school education was because his notion of what art constituted, was at variance with the institutionalised view of 'high' art advocated by his British tutors. If, for Paolozzi, art was something with a direct purpose in the world, innately political and for all, the art he was being taught to appreciate and mimic was at a remove from reality, something to be revered by an educated and privileged elite.

Post World War II there was a jingoistic clinging to notions of British tradition, literally a xenophobic attitude toward anything 'foreign.' When interviewed by Edouardo Roditi the American poet, critic and biographer in 1960, Paolozzi bemoaned how the English appeared uninterested in the avant-garde; engaging with it 'only as humour, or else as valuable historical documentary evidence concerning the aberration of modern art in foreign countries.'¹⁸ Awareness of European artistic trends lagged in Britain compared with the wider world. To some extent the United Kingdom did live up to the slander bestowed on it for its island-centric, inward-facing position with regard to the contemporary art scene.¹⁹ No matter how active the likes of Ben Nicolson, Henry Moore and Herbert Read had been campaigning to increase Britain's connection to vanguard trends –namely Constructivism and Surrealism– engagement had been partial at best.²⁰ The inaccessibility of art to the public during 1945-1956 helped reinforce a lack of

¹⁶ Nigel Henderson. 29 January 1956. 'Letter to Mr. Pearson,' Tate Gallery Archive 9211/9/3/94-121, London.

¹⁷ Nigel Henderson. 28th August 1947. 'Letter from Nigel to Judith Henderson,' Written whilst in Paris with Paolozzi, Henderson Collection TGA 9211.1.1.9.

¹⁸ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1960. 'In interview with Roditi,' reprinted in Spencer (ed.) 2000, p.107.

¹⁹ For a broad view of the British historical and cultural context Harrison's remains most thorough, read Charles Harrison. 1981. *English Art and Modernism 1900-1939* (London, Allen Lane/Indiana University Press), pp.13 - 41.

²⁰ Alan Windsor. 2003. *British Sculptors of the Twentieth Century* (Ashgate), p.3.

general awareness and understanding of art from overseas. Émigré arrivals rarely stayed for long, finding the British backward and unwilling to adapt to change:²¹ Ex-Bauhaus photographer and artist Moholy-Nagy would be a good example of such an internationally respected artist who found his way to the safety of British shores. He brought with him his conceptually and visually trail-blazing use of the camera, only to be met with incomprehension and vague hostility.²²

Paolozzi, being neither English; nor of a cultured and educated background, had been exposed to more wide-ranging and exploratory definitions of art. According to a letter written to Tate Curator Catherine Cuthbert by Raymond Mason, Paolozzi 'talked about Dadaism, Surrealism, and Constructivism and talked about Tristan Tzara, Fernand Léger, Max Ernst,' whilst he was still enrolled at art collage, before 'he would frequent [these artists] three or four years later in Paris' between 1947 and 1949.²³ An early 1940s scrapbook by Paolozzi contains a number of modern paintings including works by Duchamp, Giacometti, Picasso, Klee, Max Ernst, and Kurt Schwitters clipped from exhibition catalogues from the London Gallery support Mason's claim. Robin Spencer has more specifically dated Paolozzi's first contact with avant-garde art to have been at an exhibition entitled *The Impact of Machines* at the London Gallery in 1938.²⁴ This show displayed engineering drawings, locomotives, nineteenth century cartoons, photographs of the Great Exhibition of 1851, together with images of machines by children and naive artists alongside a section described as, 'The Impact on Modern Painting,' which included works by De Chirico, Duchamp, Léger, Magritte, Picabia and Man Ray.²⁵ It is likely that his friendship with Margaret Gardiner, Nigel Henderson's lover for a time, who lived in close proximity to Roland Penrose provided another fertile point of contact with

21 Jeannine Fiedler (ed.). 1990. *Photography at the Bauhaus*, (Dirk Nishen Publishing), p. 17.

22 Lázló Moholy-Nagy. July 1922. 'Production-Reproduction,' *De Stijl*, Volume 5, No.7, pp.98 – 100 trans. Andreas Haus. 1980. *Moholy-Nagy: Photographs and Photograms*, London (Thames and Hudson), p.47.

23 Raymond Mason. 7 May 1999. Letter to Catherine Cuthbert, the speech was prepared but not given at the opening of the Dean Gallery, 25th March 1999, bequeathed to Tate Gallery Archive in May 1999, un-catalogued.

24 Robin Spencer. 2000. 'Introduction,' *Eduardo Paolozzi: Writings and Interviews* (Oxford University Press), p.13

25 Ibid.

modern art. Penrose housed a notoriously profuse collection of Surrealist and Primitive art and confirms Paolozzi's awareness of Max Ernst's collage techniques.²⁶

Nevertheless, it was not until Paolozzi stayed in Raymond Mason's flat, no.51 Boulevard St. Jacques in Paris, that he had access to Mary Reynolds's and Tristan Tzara's collections of Dadaist and Surrealist work. Nigel Henderson recounts Paolozzi's self-made introductions with pre-war Modern masters in a letter to his wife.²⁷ He recalled with admiration 'the sort of initiative of Eduardo's,' whereby Paolozzi 'barged in' on Georges Braque, Constantin Brancusi and Fernand Léger in their studios and homes.²⁸ The group of seven sculptures by Paolozzi that survive from 1948–9 betray a clear indebtedness to the pre-War work of Giacometti. *Two Forms on Rod* (1948) is often compared with Giacometti's *Man and Woman* (1929), and echoes the harsh organic forms and psychological tension of the Swiss artist's work of the 1930s (Figure 13). Similarly, *Bird* (1949), may at first glance suggest a direct comparison with Giacometti's *Woman with her throat cut* (1932), and *Table Sculpture (Growth)* (1948) with *La table*, made by Giacometti in 1933. Paolozzi funded his extended stay in Paris through the sales of his first exhibition in London's Mayor Gallery in 1947. He continued to exhibit in Paris at 'Les Mains Eblouies' at Galerie Maeght in 1948, and 'Les Réalités Nouvelles' in Palais des Beaux Arts in 1949. It was whilst in Paris that he met David Sylvester.

Paolozzi's work was seminally described by Sylvester as having 'indebtedness to Dada, Surrealism and Ethnography.'²⁹ Sylvester's catalogue prologue to the Hanover Gallery's 1950 group show of Kenneth King, William Turnball and Paolozzi further emphasized a comparison of the artist's work with Surrealism, in particular the work of Paul Klee. Sylvester's Surrealist canonization of Paolozzi was

²⁶ Eduardo Paolozzi, 1993, British Library Audio Collection.

²⁷ Judith Collins. 1996. 'Introduction,' *Artificial Horizons and Eccentric Ladders – Eduardo Paolozzi 1946 – 1995* (British Council), p.16.

²⁸ Nigel Henderson. 28th August 1947. 'Letter to Judith Henderson,' bequeathed to TGA 2005: 9211/1/1/10. One notable disappointment was Peggy Guggenheim's snub of Paolozzi's dinner invitation, but having a remarkable ability to accept set-backs and to keep striving toward his goals this did not discourage Paolozzi from trying his luck at a later date.

²⁹ David Sylvester. 2000. 'Interview with James Hyman,' *The Battle for Realism – Figurative Art in Britain during the Cold War 1945 – 1960* (Yale University Press), p.78.

immediately picked up by the critics; an anonymous reviewer of the exhibition which appeared in *Art News and Review*, 25th March, 1950, writing:

Turnbull and Paolozzi are perhaps the most notable exponents among the younger generation of European artists, of the new method of composition informing the later work of Klee and Masson among others, and the group of sculptures of Alberto Giacometti.³⁰

Largely owing to the well documented accounts of Paolozzi's direct contact with some of the leading names in the Parisian avant-garde, together with the artist's active endorsement of the appraisal, Sylvester's interpretation of Paolozzi as neo-Surrealist has become an established orthodoxy that remains largely uncontested.³¹

Whilst the significance of Paolozzi's exposure to Dada and Surrealism must not be ignored, to exclusively promote an interpretation of the artist as neo-Surrealist can only be a partial truth. The issue of what defines a Surrealist was faced squarely by the photographer, writer and art lecturer Ian Walker when organizing the large *Contrariwise* exhibition in autumn 1986. In the preface to the catalogue, Walker explained how he had divided the 155 works by 69 artists into four sections. Two concentrated on work by artists directly associated with the movement, one dealt with contemporary artists and another represented artists who produced works from about 1945-70, and 'seem to have been influenced by, or have affinities with, Surrealist art and ideas'; it was into this category that Paolozzi was classified.³² Walker's cautious explanation for classifying Paolozzi as Surrealist identifies the contradictions, tensions, dead ends, risks and hopes which any classification has to negotiate.³³ Each species of the modernist jungle – Dada, Surrealism, Futurism, Constructivism – had its own features, as Günter Berghaus has pointed out, but they also shared many characteristics.³⁴ They collectively sought to encapsulate something of the accelerating nature of modernity, to challenge art institutions and

³⁰ *Art News and Review*, vol.2, no.4, 25 March, 1950, pp.1-2.

³¹ Paolozzi 1993, British Library Audio Collection.

³² *Contrariwise, Surrealism and Britain 1930 – 1986*, organised by Ian Walker (part of the Swansea Festival 1986), Swandea, Glynn Vivian Gallery (20 Sept–15 Nov.), exh. Bath, Newcastle and Llandudno, p.233.

³³ Michael Remy. 1999. *Surrealism in Britain* (Ashgate), p.344.

³⁴ G. Berghaus. 2005. *Theatre, performance, and the historical avant-garde* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan), p.3.

canons, to turn against the distinction between 'high' and 'low' art, to identify affinities with contemporary politics, and – ultimately – to invent the notion of an 'avant-garde.'³⁵ Peter Burger in his *Theory of the Avant-Garde* identified a further important component part, which was 'that art should become practical once again,' by which he meant, 'not that the contents of works of art should become socially significant,' but rather, 'it directs itself to the way art functions in society, a process that does as much to determine the effect that works have as does the particular content.'³⁶ Aspects of Paolozzi's practice, then, more readily fall into more generalised 'avant-garde' tendencies, rather than exclusively relying on Surrealist or Dada.

1.3 Origins of Paolozzi's Early Collage 1940 –1945

... the wardrobe had been made by my father who was endlessly creatively restless, and on the inner panels of the doors as a contrast to the icons on the wall I pasted images from the world that fascinated me: cigarette cards of locomotives and aeroplanes, and double spreads of images from the magazines of cross-sections, or even a section view of the London underground.

(Eduardo Paolozzi. April 1990. 'Retrospective Statement' reprinted in Robin Spencer. 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi: Writings and Interviews*, Oxford University Press, p.345)

Paolozzi's interest in collaging popular material stretched back to his childhood in Scotland, and has been well summarised by Robin Spencer.³⁷ Paolozzi had compulsively filled scrapbooks with cut-and-pasted magazine articles, pictures, postcards and sweet wrappers from his earliest years:

It is difficult to think at the time...when cutting out of magazines was not a daily event – not always for an idea for a graphic work but a picture or advertisement to be sent to a friend. The really precious images – strong signs and metaphors – were secured in scrapbooks like exotic and rare butterflies mounted in the Natural History Museum.³⁸

³⁵ Nikos Stangos. 1974. 'Preface', *Concepts of Modern Art*, World of Art (Thames & Hudson), p.ix.

³⁶ Peter Burger. 1984. *Theory of the Avant-Garde* (Minneapolis/MN: University of Minnesota Press), p.49.

³⁷ See R. Spencer: 'Introduction', in *idem*, ed. 2000: *Eduardo Paolozzi. Writings and Interviews* (Oxford), pp.1–43, esp. pp.8–10.

³⁸ Eduardo Paolozzi. 12 November, 1982. 'The Ad Images that Inspire Today's Artists,' *Campaign*, p.6-11 and reprinted in Robin Spencer (ed.). 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi Writings and Interviews* (Oxford University Press), p.53.

Paolozzi preserved this childhood habit into his mid- to late twenties. His innovations with collage, in particular the series of forty-five *Bunk* collages, are well-documented. Paolozzi made this series of 'prototypical works of Pop art,' so John Paul Stonard calls them, in Paris and London from around 1947 to 1952.³⁹ He later used them in a lecture held at the premises of the ICA (Institute of Contemporary Art) in London in 1952, which was the first event to be presented in the programme of the Independent Group. Paolozzi projected a large number of collaged images which contained material on science fiction, aviation, technology, comic book characters, advertising for food, domestic appliances, cars, films, pin-up pictures, news photographs and medical diagrams through an epidiascope to an uncomprehending audience.⁴⁰ Paolozzi explained the title of the series as 'nulus in verba,' by which he meant that 'Bunk' was trying to question 'the meaning that all pre-digested forms of knowledge, or history, have to be re-examined.' He thought most art was 'torture-less modern, bad art,' or 'tired art,' and he wanted to introduce a new aesthetic.⁴¹

In the catalogue of Paolozzi's Tate Gallery retrospective in 1971, the artist states beside a reproduction *Evadne in Green Dimension* that its use of the word 'Bunk' gave the title to the series of collages he presented at a lecture he gave at the Independent Group (Figure 14).⁴² The collage asserts those 'Pop' qualities for which Paolozzi has become best known, and so provides an exemplary example of the artist's use of the collaged medium. *Evadne in Green Dimension* exemplifies the high-coloured, recycled consumerist iconology reaped from 1940s and early 1950s magazines which gave Pop art its identity. It introduces us to how Paolozzi brings together disparate imagery from an eclectic range of sources to form an image as a unified whole. Some of the artist's signature themes are already present: the muscular figure of

³⁹ John Paul Stonard. April 2008. *The 'Bunk' Collages of Eduardo Paolozzi* (The Burlington Magazine), p.238.

⁴⁰ For an in-depth account of Paolozzi's presentation of his 'Bunk' series read Anne Massey. 1996. *The Independent Group: Modernism and Mass Culture in Britain, 1945-1959* (University of Manchester Press).

⁴¹ Eduardo Paolozzi in conversation with Frank Whitford. 10th June 1995. British Library audio Interview.

⁴² Eduardo Paolozzi. 1971. *Eduardo Paolozzi*, exh. cat. by Frank Whitford (London, Tate).

'Mr. Charles Atlas,' lifted from a bodybuilding advertisement⁴³ and 'above' Mr. Atlas, raised in his bulging arms, an illustration of a motorcar has been fixed, introducing the artist's lifelong interest in mechanization and the technical development of automobile manufacture and design. Symbolic of speed and the machine age, Paolozzi's incorporation of the image of a motorcar juxtaposed alongside a diagrammatic illustration of an erect phallus, cannot be considered a fortuitous accident. Paolozzi is encouraging a dialogue to be made between these two separate images, and this dialogue relates closely to car advertisements of the time which relied heavily on the aid of sexual fantasy to sell.⁴⁴ This interpretation is further supported by the appearance of a pin-up model whose sensual silhouette eclipses the scrotum of the sexually-aroused phallus. The artist is clearly alluding to gendered stereotypes and the language of advertising prevalent in the Capitalist post-War West. The playful mood of the collage is muted somewhat by the presence of undulating ocean-waves in the bottom third of the composition, which, when considered in relation to the title of the work, I would suggest assert a sombre reference to the armed yacht HMS *Evadne* which sank on 19th February 1945.⁴⁵ It is precisely with the artist's dissection of propagandist language used in mass media, and the origins of where his preoccupations originated that this thesis sets about exploring.

Far less well known are the plethora of other collages Paolozzi made during the same period which have remained within his scrapbooks. It is the contents of those scrapbooks which he filled whilst he attended Edinburgh College of Art in 1943, during his brief service in the Pioneer Corps, and later when enrolled as an art student at London's St Martin's School of Art in 1944, and then the Slade School of

⁴³ The theme of the male nude and masculine identity as it was explored by Paolozzi in his early period is assessed in detail in Chapter 2.

⁴⁴ Nigel Whitely.1987. 'Toward a Throw-Away Culture - Consumerism, 'Style Obsolescence' and Cultural Theory in the 1950s and 1960s,' *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 2, The 60s, p.25.

⁴⁵ The title of the work has been attributed by John Paul Stonard to a painting by the German émigré impresario Jack Bilbo. A one-time bodyguard of Al Capone and career conman, Bilbo turned to art and opened a gallery of modern painting, improbably, in London during the Blitz. In 1948 he published his vastly egotistical autobiography, complete with extensive text and numerous images, reproduced as stuck-down plates. It seems more likely, given the waves appearing in the bottom third of the collage to interpret the title as coming from the current affairs issue which was written about in newspapers contemporaneously. My interpretation is also consistent with Paolozzi's interrelation of topical issues in his *Time Series* and other BUNK series collage (see Chapter 1, part ii).

Fine Art from 1945 to 1947, which are of particular use in evaluating the artist's artistic techniques and formative perspectives. These scrapbooks were made as an extracurricular activity and were therefore not intended for public display.⁴⁶ The intimate nature of these works makes them insightful and reliable forms of evidence.⁴⁷ More than mere compendiums of random eclectic ephemera, they inform the viewer about the young Paolozzi's interests, cultural inheritance and politics. The true dating of these collages has proved challenging because few traces are apparent that demonstrate the exact point within the artist's career when they were made.⁴⁸ The dating on the material gathered is also unreliable since it was oftentimes gathered from old sources.⁴⁹ The various locations in which his collages can be found further enhance the ambiguity of their material status. Where some are kept as works of art in a museum store (Tate, London), others are held in Prints and Drawings collections (Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh) and still others are stored as archival material (Art and Design Archive, Victoria and Albert Museum). Aside from several works held in private collections, the location of about fifteen of the collages remains so far unidentified (it must be assumed) within Paolozzi's personal archive.⁵⁰

In one of his scrapbooks dating from the early 1940s which has a Philips light bulb pasted onto its front cover, Paolozzi has filled each page with news clippings, new inventions, motor vehicles and imagery of sports highlighting those aspects of modernity he found exciting or significant (Figure 15). He captures and celebrates those attributes he perceived to be instrumental in formulating a 'new' world:

...and whether the artist takes note of the power station or the motor car which zips past his window every few minutes, of the aeroplane that goes over his head, is a complicated question; but surely in the context of art (and

⁴⁶ Winnifred Konnertz, *Eduardo Paolozzi*, D Mont Buchverlag Koln, 1984, p.1.

⁴⁷ An exhibition two years after Paolozzi's death of hitherto unpublished erotic collages is some indication of the only gradually emerging knowledge of these 'private' works; see exh. cat. *Eduardo Paolozzi: For Adults Only. A pornucopia of previously unknown erotic drawings/collages*, London (Mayor Gallery) 2007.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Following Paolozzi's death in 2005, the contents of his studio in Dovehouse Street, Chelsea, including his archives, were placed in storage. They have recently been bequeathed to Tate and remain un-catalogued at the time of writing.

writing on art), only a tiny microcosm of a much greater communications problem.⁵¹

An exemplary page brings together a spoof classroom drama describing a student writing equations on a black board with the strap-line, 'that's a big chair to fill, Einstein,' pictures of ultrasound scans, a still from Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* (Germany, 1926), and an advertisement for *Pacific Coast Highway* ocean liners.⁵² Each image describes, albeit in a compound snapshot, a beneficent facet of modern life: Einstein shaped the twentieth century's understanding of the physical world, scans allowed the development of unborn babies to be seen inside the womb, Lang's *Metropolis* projected a futuristic vision of a mechanised world set in 2026, and the invention of the ocean liner allowed for luxurious world travel. Paolozzi was clearly intoxicated by the prospects of a fully mobilised machine age and its implications for the future of humanity. Studying and making copies of conventional works of art, and practicing hand-eye coordination at the Slade must have seemed remote when his interest was 'to do things which have a meaning for us living today.'⁵³

1.4 The Avant-garde Origins of Paolozzi's Collage

The really precious images— strong signs and metaphors – were secured in scrapbooks like exotic and rare butterflies mounted in the Natural History Museum.

(Eduardo Paolozzi. 1982. *Reminiscences of Childhood* reprinted in Robin Spencer. 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi: Writings and Interviews*, Oxford University Press, p.46)

Collage-like application techniques arguably existed before the twentieth century but collage, properly speaking, was an invention of modernism. Greenberg sees collage as an expression of the tension between the modernist emphasis on the surface of the painting and the inherited tradition of three-dimensional representation.⁵⁴ Its earliest incarnation, first introduced by Picasso and Braque, was a catalyst for the progression of formalist ideas ultimately resulting in the transition

⁵¹ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1976. 'The Iconography of the Present,' in exh. cat. *Eduardo Paolozzi: Sculpture, Drawings, Collages and Graphics* (Arts Council Exhibition, touring – Newcastle, Edinburgh, Leigh, Wolverhampton, Hull, Southampton, Cardiff, Kendal, 1976-7), p.21.

⁵² Eduardo Paolozzi.c.1940-5.Scrapbook with 'Philips Neon Light' AAD/1985/3/6/7 (Victoria & Albert Museum, London), u.p.

⁵³ Paolozzi 1976, p.22.

⁵⁴ Clement Greenberg. 1965. 'Modernist Painting,' *The Collected Essays and Criticism* vol. 4, ed. John O'Brian, 1993, pp. 70–74.

from Analytic to Synthetic Cubism. Picasso glued printed oil cloth to his surface of *Still Life with Chair Caning* in May of 1912. He glued a rope around the edge of the oval canvas. Georges Braque then glued imitation wood-grained wallpaper to his *Fruit Dish and Glass* (September 1912). As an artistic concept collage entails much more than gluing something onto something else. Its conception has often been interpreted as a time-specific phenomena; reflecting the disorientation that resulted from the pace of the modern world. A 'historical moment,' so Francis Francina put it, of a 'crisis in consciousness' both social and political.⁵⁵ Ways in which Cubist collages have been unpacked provide helpful ways of looking at Paolozzi's own use of cut-and-pasted elements in his scrapbooks. Those collages reproduced in *The Metallization of a Dream* (1963) are recommended by Alloway to illustrate Paolozzi's interest in 'patterns of connectivity.'⁵⁶ It is clear, not just from those examples Alloway chooses to select and analyse, that Paolozzi's collages were far from being dissonant accumulations of random ephemera; they had clearly intended purpose.

Picasso's *Au Bon Marché* (January 25-26, 1913) conflates Analytic Cubist 'signs,' such as the schematic wine glass, with 'real' incursions from reality, such as wall-paper and the signage for a shop selling ladies lingerie, together with textual puns that use texts from newspaper clippings to humorous and ironic effect (Figure 16). Paolozzi's use of collage similarly moves between different forms of visual signification – newsprint, photography, drawing – to convey meaning. *Dr. Pepper* (1948), made up of images from popular American magazines, brings together images of healthy, happy people enjoying the freedom afforded by such machines as telephones, electric ovens, motorcycles and the motorcar, overlay pictures of succulent food and seductive images of women in their underwear (Figure 17). Toby Treves has compellingly suggested that Paolozzi's reliance on American advertisements and popular magazines was not simply by virtue of their artistic value, but their status

⁵⁵ Francis Francina 'Realism and Ideology: An Introduction to Semiotics and Cubism,' in Charles Harrison, Francis Francina and Gill Perry (ed.).1993. *Primitivism, Cubism, Abstraction: The Early Twentieth Century* (Open University Press), pp.87-100.

⁵⁶ Lawrence Alloway.1963.*The Metallization of a Dream* (Lion and Unicorn Press (London)), n.p.

as the new iconography of the modern world.⁵⁷ In Paolozzi's opinion, the aesthetic was one 'where the event of selling tinned pears was transformed into multi-coloured dreams, where sensuality and virility combined to form...an art form more subtle and fulfilling than the orthodox choice of either the Tate Gallery or the Royal Academy.'⁵⁸ The urgency placed on immediacy, and iconoclastic undertones connect Paolozzi's intent with Picasso's synthetic Cubism. What is more, a shared concern with asserting a strong masculine sexuality seems to unite the artists, as does their biting wit. Picasso's *Au Bon Marché*, for instance, has been interpreted by Edward Fry as a cafe scene:

Seated behind the table is a woman of apparently easy virtue, whose head is indicated by a newspaper advertisement, body (conflated with the table) by a clothing store label and legs beneath the table by clippings with the pun 'LUN B TROU ICI.' The full pun thus read, 'AU BON MARCHÉ LUN B TROU ICI,' which lay be translated as, 'One may make a hole here inexpensively.' This sexual, verbal and visual double entendre is also particularly notable for its non-illusionistic indication of pictorial depth and space relations...⁵⁹

Paolozzi's juxtaposition of a young, scantily-clad female positioned next to some fresh meat implies similarly sexualised connotations. His insertion of crude gender-stereotyping cartoons – the male wielding a caveman club, the female posing to show off her feminine assets – also invites speculation about Paolozzi's non-progressive conceptualisation of women.

Christine Poggi prefers to draw attention to the deliberate ambiguity created through Picasso's selection and presentation of papered materials, encouraging a view of the 'promiscuity of the commodity':⁶⁰

...Picasso constructs an image of bourgeois female which ironically conforms to that of the mass media. She appears in the collage in her exemplary dual

⁵⁷ Toby Treves. April 2001. Eduardo Paolozzi's 'Dr. Pepper' (1948), Tate Gallery label.

⁵⁸ Eduardo Paolozzi, 'Retrospective statements' in Robbins (ed.) 1990, p.192.

⁵⁹ Edward Fry. Winter 1988. 'Picasso, Cubism and Reflexivity,' *Art Journal* Vol.47, No.4 (Collage Art Association), p.301.

⁶⁰ Christine Poggi. 1992. *In Defiance of Painting: Cubism, Futurism and the Invention of Collage* (Yale University Press), pp.232.

role as both consumer goods and as object of desire, that is, intimately involved in the world of commodities.⁶¹

Paolozzi's representation of sexually-alluring women next to an advertisement for the beverage Dr. Pepper, which carries the slogan 'good for life' as a strap-line, makes a similar statement about women's societal role. She is depicted as sexually available, fecund, and domestically adapted. A further reading of Picasso's *Au Bon Marché* might associate its use of labels and advertising with street art, namely posters and advertising which were becoming a commonplace feature on the walls of Paris. Paolozzi was as keen as his forebear to capture the changing times. He wanted to mirror the evolution of the fast-paced, consumerist-driven culture he was witnessing unravelling in the Western world. If formerly posters had been seen as an unsightly intervention on the timeless streets of France's capital, now advertising and electric lights were all-pervasive in cosmopolitan societies.

Whilst his fellow art students were replicating busts of antiquated nobles in the sculpture halls of The Royal Academy, Paolozzi was exploring the wonders of the modern world on the streets of London. In preference to the tuition he received at the Slade, Paolozzi would, 'go to the Science Museum and draw' and 'to the London Gallery,' and 'a wonderful cinema near the Slade called the *Tolmar*' which he recalls 'was considered appalling' by the professors.⁶² Bright, eye-catching popular art, considered vulgar by the British elite, could be seen everywhere, from magazines and journals, to the cinema and theatre, shop signs and the disposable detritus of everyday urban life. It seemed to offer the glimpse of something 'better' for the young Paolozzi who had grown up in a Britain overcast by the gloom of war. Paolozzi described the Britain that he knew in interview:

... it seemed to me, particularly the winter of '46, it was, whenever I read 'The Secret Agent' by Conrad, that was the London that one lived, foggy, and it had moving through the fog all these lost souls somehow, it was terribly austere.⁶³

⁶¹ Christine Poggi. 1987. 'Mallarmé, Picasso and the Newspaper as Commodity,' *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 1, no. 1, p.140.

⁶² Eduardo Paolozzi. 1993-6. British Library Audio Collection.

⁶³ Ibid.

He was also gaining an alternative art education to that he received at the Slade from the exhibitions and galleries he was frequenting in the Capital. Indeed, it was seeing Kurt Schwitters collage at the London Gallery and hearing his poetry that, as Paolozzi put it, 'helped to make the decision to go to France and see real, what we call real painting.'⁶⁴ The Mayor Gallery between 1933 -37 had begun to show the work of German artists. The first comprehensive survey of modern German art in London was the *Exhibition of Twentieth Century German Art* held at the New Burlington Galleries in July and August 1938.⁶⁵ Organised by Herbert Read, it was conceived as an exploration of German works of classical modernity, works by artists of Jewish decent and works of social criticism considered to be *Entartete Kunst* by their home country.⁶⁶ Shortly after the British public had seen Schwitters's work in the context of modern German art, two exhibitions at the Guggenheim Jeune Gallery placed him in a British setting. The *Exhibition of Collages, Papier-Collés and Photomontages* in November 1938 showed five works by Schwitters including *Blue in Blue* (1926-9), alongside other proponents of collage such as Picasso, Arp, and British artists Nigel Henderson, Conroy Maddox, Julian Trevelyan and Roland Penrose.⁶⁷ Two of his works were also included in Guggenheim Jeune's subsequent exhibition *Abstract Concrete Art* in May 1939 alongside Nicholson, Hepworth, Arp, Naum Gabo and Piet Mondrian. These two exhibitions identify the dual association of Schwitters's work with both Constructivism and collage in Britain in the 1930s.

⁶⁴ Eduardo Paolozzi.2001.interview with Mel Gooding, British Library Audio Collection.

⁶⁵ For a full account of emigré influence on the London cultural scene including photography and the press see *Kunst im Exil in Grossbritannien, 1933–1935*, particularly Cordula Frohwein: 'Austellungsaktivitaten der Exilkunstler', pp.35–58.. A small English catalogue with an introduction by Monica Bohm-Duchen was produced for the modified show, *Art in Exile in Great Britain, 1933–1945*, held at the Camden Arts Centre, London in July, 1986. See also conference papers on exile in England edited for *Third Text*, no. 15, London, 1991.

⁶⁶ By August 1937 the wide-scale confiscation of all works of art in museums designated 'degenerate' in Germany had already begun. According to records, a total of 15,997 works of fine art were confiscated from 101 German museums. This action was justified by the Law on the Confiscation of Products of Degenerate Art, passed belatedly on 31 May 1938. The artists themselves, assuming they had not already left Germany, were forbidden to paint or exhibit. In addition to confiscation, destruction took place of murals and architectural monuments, among others. In May 1938 Goebbels instigated the establishment of the Kommission zur Verwertung der Beschlagnahmten Werke Entarteter Kunst. Confiscated works were stored in depots and from there sold to interested parties abroad (the Nazis hoped for a source of revenue for foreign currency, which was needed for the rearmament programme), and sometimes exchanged (Hermann Goering made exchanges with older works of art for his private collection).

⁶⁷ See *Living Art in England*, London Bulletin nos. 8 and 9, January–February 1939. Guggenheim opened the gallery Guggenheim Jeune in Cork Street in 1938. For the Museum of Modern Art project and a lively account of Read's place within the London intelligentsia during the war, see James King: *The Last Modern. A Life of Herbert Read*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1990, chapters 11–14.

Schwitters explored his theory of Merz using everyday materials in collages, assemblages and installations and staging performances. He defined his practice in 1919:

The word Merz denotes essentially the combination of all conceivable materials for artistic purposes, and technically the principle of equal evaluation of the individual materials...A perambulator wheel, wire-netting, string and cotton wool are factors having equal rights with paint. The artist creates through the choice, distribution and metamorphosis of materials.⁶⁸

An exemplary work, *En Morn* (1947) by Schwitters, resonates closely with Paolozzi's compositions containing detritus from modern life (Figure 18). Schwitters brings together cigar box covers, with bus tickets; an advertisement for peppermint tea with a leaflet detailing the mission statement of the British Psychoanalytic Council; a reproduction portrait of a 1940s pin-up girl amidst a densely layered mass of overlapping multi-coloured papered parts. The disparate elements in the collage are unified by the intention betrayed by the strap-line reaped wholesale from a magazine, which reads 'These are the things we are fighting for.' Schwitters uses black comedy to comment on wartime hardship. The artist himself exiled from his German homeland in 1937 after his works were condemned as degenerate by the Nazi party, Schwitters had spent World War II in Norway before moving to Britain where he was initially interned. He uses ephemera sourced from capitalist society's excesses: its disposable luxury items, the accoutrements of modern living such as public transport, its throw-away titillating images and advertising, to assert the frivolity and wastefulness of the post-War world.⁶⁹ Schwitters intends to draw to our attention how unimportant these distractions are when considered in relation to the high price paid for them by those who lost their lives in the War. Similar illusions to the bountiful consumer-driven world are realised in Paolozzi's *Real Gold* (1948), which will be contextualised against the backdrop of the post-war scene in

⁶⁸ 'Die Merzmalerei,' *Der Sturm*, July 1919, quoted in John Elderfield.1985. *Kurt Schwitters* (London and New York), p.50.

⁶⁹ *Kurt Schwitters in the Lake District*, Abbot Hall Art Gallery, 24 October – 29 November 1964; Mary E. Burkett: *Kurt Schwitters, Creator of Merz*, Abbot Hall Art Gallery, 1979; *Kurt Schwitters in England*, Abbot Hall Art Gallery, 1982; 'Kurt Schwitters in Britain, 1940–8', centenary exhibition organised by the Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield, and Abbot Hall Art Gallery Kendal, featuring Schwitters' *Manx* and British work, 1987, (no catalogue).

the second half of this chapter. The artists' share an interest in using elements drawn from life to reach new audiences; they deliberately free themselves from well-worn subjects and traditional techniques to encourage a more democratic viewing process. More than simply rebelling against a historic artistic tradition, Schwitters's *Merz* and Paolozzi's collage challenged the very fabric of society, those 'keepers of the flame' so Lawrence Alloway called them, for whom 'Art' was so integral.⁷⁰

1.5 Surrealist Visions

*Combination of furniture and machine. Hybrid combination on a table. In an interior, through a windscreen, mountains. Laocoon. Large robot with aeroplane motor-cyclist. A mask with a motor-car, toy tank detail of a motor-cyclist with progress written. A small boy in a life jacket. Emergency instructions revealing the presence of danger...large geometrical star flanked by a star. Two nudes squared. War motif from World War I. New York with Flying Man.*⁷¹

(Eduardo Paolozzi. 1963. *Eduardo Paolozzi: The Metallization of a Dream*, Lion and Unicorn Press (London), n.p.)

Burgeoning critical reception – most recently by Toby Treves, Fiona Pearson and Robin Spencer – has continued to interpret Paolozzi's surprising juxtapositions of images as a response to Dada and Surrealism. The artist's willing endorsement of his categorisation as Surrealist in part explains why there has been a general unanimity amongst critical opinion. In his seminal interview with Lawrence Alloway in 1963, Paolozzi admitted to being preoccupied with Continental Surrealism, especially Max Ernst.⁷² He described his film *The History of Nothing* (1962), as a 'homage to Surrealism,' and continued to refer to his dependence on Breton's vision, the Dada introduction of the readymade, together with the Surrealist innovation of bringing together disparate objects and ideas together to produce a work of art which presented a new perspective on the world, as fundamental to his own work.⁷³

⁷⁰ Lawrence Alloway. 1959. *Cambridge Opinion* 17 (Cambridge University Press), u.p.

⁷¹ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1963. *Eduardo Paolozzi: The Metallization of a Dream* (Lion and Unicorn Press (London)), n.p.

⁷² Alloway 1963, p.38.

⁷³ Eduardo Paolozzi. May, 1959. 'The Artist sketches an Aesthetic of the Objet Trouve Based on a Conscious Metamorphosis of the Derelict,' *Arts* (New York) and republished in Edouardo Roditi. 1960. *Dialogues on Art* (London, Secker & Warburg, London), p.162.

One may wonder if there were mainly opportunistic, self-promotional reasons for his voluntary admittance of a reliance on Dada and Surrealism to the exclusion of any other variant of the avant-garde, knowing as he did the Francophile disposition of the Arts Council and the ICA, not to mention the post-war disinclination to appreciate anything contaminated with the art world of the 'Right.' Paolozzi might have played lip-service to the critics and dealers but there was a clear frustration on his part that he felt misunderstood: 'if I could only fool myself into believing that my own work is whimsical, in fact that I am creating a kind of *Alice in Wonderland* for children and not for grown-ups, I am quite sure that my problems would be discussed much more seriously by English critics.'⁷⁴ The 'problems' to which he was referring might be better explained by a frustration that his work, and in particular his collages, was not being interpreted with the seriousness that he intended. The artist desired not a simple juxtaposition of different ephemera for either humour or for what Lautréamont derived excitement from, but to communicate a network of ideas.

Week by Week (c.1944), a collage now housed in the Museum of Modern Art, New York, is one of the earliest collages Paolozzi selected from his scrapbooks as a standalone work of art (Figure 19). More than a composition bringing together surprising juxtapositions, Paolozzi's unexpected collection and layout of cut and pasted ephemera are united by a sense of conviction.⁷⁵ The dominant image is an article which has been pulled wholesale from a cheap, two tone printed magazine describing a cartoon sequence entitled 'Modern Marvels.' This strip of sequential illustrations includes an International Style hospital mimicking the appearance of an aircraft hanger, an assembly of speeding motorcycles streaking through country roads, a Spitfire cruising through the clouds navigated by a smiling aviator, and a modern stream-lined train captured in motion, moving cleanly and efficiently without steam. Further images recycled from popular magazines and technical manuals detailing machine age inventions surround this central article, which

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Winnifred Konnertz. 1984. *Eduardo Paolozzi* (D Mont Buchverlag Koln), p.15.

include a World War II gas-mask invoking war time experience, diagrammatic illustrations of insects seen as if through the lens of a microscope, and an extreme close up of factory machinery. It is clear Paolozzi is trying to make a statement about the presence of new mechanised technologies in the twentieth century world. He has selected exemplary examples of inventions which have changed the way lives are lived in modern times: the ability to travel fast and efficiently, not just from one town to another, but from one country to another; the ability to see things smaller than the eye's magnifying abilities could formerly behold; the ability to breathe and stay alive in toxic atmospheres; to receive healthcare and enjoy a greater longevity of life, to inhabit comfortable hygienic and light-filled spaces. Paolozzi's presentation of imagery of the machine using a mechanized mode of expression encourages comparison with Dada photomontage. His use of recycled cut and pasted ephemera, like that used by the Dadaists', communicates something about contemporary society's relationship with modern technologies.⁷⁶

Robin Spencer, among others, has relied upon Paolozzi's known sighting of Duchamp's collaged walls in Mary Reynold's apartment to be a reliable point of contact between the artist and Dada's collaged aesthetic.⁷⁷ Paolozzi would have had exposure to Hannah Höch's work at Peggy Guggenheim's Jeune Gallery which was run by Nigel's mother Wyn Henderson.⁷⁸ The convictions of Dada photomontage were laid out by Höch (1889-1978) as follows:

Our whole purpose was to integrate objects from the world of machines and industry in the world of art. Our typographical collages or montages set out to achieve this by imposing, on something which could only be produced by hand, the appearances of something that had been entirely composed by a machine; in an imaginative composition, we used to bring together elements borrowed from books, newspapers, posters, or leaflets, in an arrangement that no machine could yet compose.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ For a full account of Dada's position see Hans Richter. 1965. *Dada: Art and Anti-Art* (Harry Abrams).

⁷⁷ Robin Spencer. 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi Writings and Interviews*, edited by Robin Spencer (Oxford University Press), p.iiv.

⁷⁸ Robin Spencer. 1976. 'Looking Backward at the Future,' Spencer exhib. cat., *Eduardo Paolozzi: Sculpture, Drawings, Collages and Graphics* (London, Arts Council), p.xi.

⁷⁹ Hannah Höch. 1926. Reproduced in Dawn Ades. 1986. *Photomontage* (World of Art), p.141.

The five exponents of Dada montage - John Heartfield, Hannah Höch, Johannes Baader, Raoul Hausmann, and George Grosz - all agreed that their new art form required a new name, to distinguish it from the collage of the Cubists. The German word for montage means 'fitting' or 'assembly line,' and in French *monteur* means 'mechanic' or 'engineer', so it was an appropriate term to describe an art form determined upon distinguishing itself from the painterly notions of art that preceded it. The Dadaists' mechanically-constructed art was a protest against an increasingly synthetic and mechanised world.⁸⁰

Hochfinanz (German: *High Finance* (1923)), a photomontage by Höch, brings together Dada's polemical interests in one compound image (Figure 20). *Hochfinanz* describes two hologramatic visions of captains of industry (one of which can be identified as Sir. John Herschel) depicted against a background of factory chimneys billowing smoke. Höch interjects imagery of weaponry with the industrialists' body parts. The resulting image of ruling class protagonists bedecked in finely tailored suits interspersed with fragments of shotguns potently marries Capitalism with mechanical warfare in one threatening and politicised gesture. Matthew Biro has convincingly suggested that the underlying theme of violence in *Hochfinanz* is linked with nationalism. He interprets Höch's insertion of the flag of the German monarchy, and the 'quasi-military stride' of the industrialists' to be indicators of patriotism.⁸¹ Furthermore, he notes the ground onto which the men walk is constructed from an image of the Fair Ground and Centennial Hall in Breslau which was built by Hans Poelzig and Max Berg in 1913 to commemorate Germany's defeat of Napoleon in 1813, which confers further nationalist import on the scene.⁸² Höch's carefully selected and assembled repertoire of visual ephemera makes a resolute

⁸⁰ Walter Benjamin argued in his seminal essay, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, (1936), that works before the modern era possessed a mystique, which he described as *aura*, which was attributable to the aesthetic distance between the artwork and the passive audience. In modern times the technological reproduction of art caused a near total loss of *aura*. Walter Benjamin. 1968. Hannah Arendt. ed. *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, *Illuminations* (London: Fontana), pp. 214–218.

⁸¹ Matthew Biro. 2009. *The Dada Cyborg: Visions of the New Human in Weimar Berlin* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press), p.238-41.

⁸² Within German spectatorship, these buildings were widely accepted as symbols of hope and renewal.

political statement. Each cut-and-pasted element symbolically contributes to an entirely premeditated purpose.

Paolozzi's *Week by Week* shares with Höch's *Hochfinanz* an interest in exploring the tremendous changes in perception which were enhanced by the growth of technology in the twentieth century. The artist also formulates his visual syntax in a similarly controlled and polemical way. The vision of Paolozzi's mechanised world is, however, naively optimistic, in comparison with Höch's decidedly cynical view of the modern world.⁸³ Whilst Paolozzi interprets mechanisation as bringing about an improved, more well-ordered world, in which breakthroughs in science and technology bring clear benefit, Höch brings to the fore the negative implications of mechanisation: the impact of its warfare, and the implications which Taylorism and Fordism's increased efficiency and productivity have had on humankind. Höch's vision is of a fragmented and chaotic industrialised world that is disenfranchised from its humanitarianism and predicated on corrupt capitalist values of violence, nationalism and greed. These two irreconcilable views of mechanisation are entirely in-keeping with the divergent responses to the machine post-World War I.⁸⁴

⁸³ In this early phase of his career.

⁸⁴ Hal Foster explores the divergent responses to mechanization in his *Prosthetic Gods*, October Books, 2006.

1.6 Reinventing *L'Esprit Nouveau*

There is a new spirit abroad: It is a spirit of construction and synthesis, moved by a clear conception of things. Whatever one may think of it, this spirit animates the greater part of human activity today.

A GREAT ERA WHICH HAS JUST BEGUN

(Amédée Ozenfant and Charles-Edouard Jeanneret. 1921.
L'esprit nouveau 2, no.10:1147n)⁸⁵

Paolozzi's excitement over the potentialities of the modern mechanised world finds kinship with the ideological artistic program of Ozenfant and Le Corbusier formulated in the 1920s. At the Contemporary Art Society's Annual lecture he delivered at Tate in 1988, Paolozzi said *L'Esprit Nouveau* was 'as relevant post-Chernobyl as it was in the past,' and that it still 'had meaning for us living today.'⁸⁶ The journal, which laid-out the precepts of the movement was first published in October 1920. It prophetically implied a celebration of the revelatory nature of the new age. Coming after World War I, Ozenfant and Le Corbusier's elegiac vision of modernity should be seen within its social, economic, political and artistic context. Based essentially on a political and ethical attitude, the magnitude of its claims depended upon the extremity of the artists' optimism towards the world (or, at least, the way the world *could* be). *L'Esprit Nouveau* deemed Purism to be a 'cleaned up' Cubism. Crediting itself as being the natural successor to the ground-breaking 'deconstruction of the universe,' as Apollinaire defined Cubism, Purism advocated a purified, well-ordered and constructive antidote.⁸⁷ Ozenfant and Le Corbusier saw each other as having an important role to play within society. With the assistance of a certain amount of scientific knowledge, they believed it was their responsibility to reveal essential aspects of their age that remained unperceived by the general public.

⁸⁵ Amédée Ozenfant, and Charles-Edouard Jeanneret. 1921. *L'esprit nouveau* reprinted in Los Angeles county museum of art, Carol S. Eliel, Françoise Ducros, Tag Gronberg, Amédée Ozenfant, and Charles-Edouard Jeanneret. 2001. *L'esprit nouveau [exhibition, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, April 29-August 5, 2001]: purism in Paris, 1918-1925* (New York: Harry N. Abrams).

⁸⁶ Eduardo Paolozzi. 29 November 1988. The CAS Annual delivered by Paolozzi at the Tate Gallery, audio transcription.

⁸⁷ Guillaume Apollinaire (trans. Peter Read). (1913) 2004. *The Cubist Painters* (University of California Press), p.21.

Amédée Ozenfant's *The Foundations of Modern Art* (1931), which Paolozzi came across by chance in Buxton Library whilst he was serving in the Royal Pioneer Corps (1943–1944), became an important catalyst for his own vision, providing the artist with a sort of user's guide for understanding modernism. He liked to give copies of it to all his friends:⁸⁸

...that kind of opened my eyes, because it brought me back, I could see the possibility then of combining my childhood loves with the other kind of things, you know, the Bugatti wheel and the warship; that's the first time I've ever seen in a book, and it hit me...I needed a guru which didn't exist, and that book became a kind of guru.⁸⁹

Through its compelling symbiosis of text and image, Ozenfant rhapsodically endorses the machine and its central position within society, making comparisons between seemingly disparate imagery and uses compelling text-based arguments to make connections between them (Figure 21). At the same Tate lecture, Paolozzi made comparisons between his collages and the layout of images in Ozenfant's book, suggesting that there 'looked like there was a connection with Ozenfant – of linking together disparate ideas...' which asserts a new origin for Paolozzi's collage technique.⁹⁰ Ozenfant wanted to convey a message through seemingly disparate pairings of imagery, which Paolozzi said 'brought together the known and the ridiculous.'⁹¹ a hot air balloon and an Egyptian bust are used by Ozenfant to successfully justify his position that engineering projects could be as highly acclaimed as works of art; Lindbergh's Instrumental Board (dashboard) is illustrated to exemplify humankind's ability to reform 'irrational' nature into a coherent, logical and harmonic instrument;⁹² and he uses the examples of New York skyscrapers, European city trains and water planes to argue for the universal application of efficient design to improve quality of life (Figures 22). Ozenfant urged

⁸⁸ Christopher Frayling. Nov. 2009. *Art and Religion in the Modern West: Some Perspectives*, The Tanner Lectures on Human Values (delivered at Clare College, Cambridge), p.247.

⁸⁹ Eduardo Paolozzi 1993. 'NLSC Artists' Lives;' Interview with Frank Whitford, British Library Audio Collection.

⁹⁰ Eduardo Paolozzi. undated, c.1995. Interview with Sue Lawley, British Library Audio Collection, London.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ozenfant (trans. John Rodker). (1931) 1952. *Foundations of Modern Art* (Dover Publications, New York), p.151.

a review of the role of the artist in society, he uses an image of a Jaeger Speedometer and juxtaposes it with an Ice Age incised stone to demonstrate how the artist no longer needs to work within the constraints of making devotional works of art; he is liberated to make his own creative choices.⁹³

In a lecture in the autumn of 1988, at King's College, London, and the Royal College of Art, titled 'Jesus and the Volkswagen' Paolozzi makes comparisons between his collage techniques and Ozenfant's *Foundations of Modern Art*.⁹⁴ Like many Paolozzi's lectures, this one originally consisted of two carousels of slides, projecting side-by-side images from art and everyday life, this one was particularly memorable to some attendees for its use of jazz music piped through the lecture theatre's public address system. The visual experience — for it was as much this as it was a lecture — projected a sequence of disparate images that bombarded the viewer with a new way of seeing art, the modern city, relics of the past, and more. It was like a delirious kind of information overload, which Paolozzi described as being 'like good poetry.'⁹⁵ Like Ozenfant, Paolozzi juxtaposed disparate images. He used examples of fusion imagery such as those marrying the classical with the mechanical, recalling at the later Tate CAS lecture that he showed the audience a collage in which 'a piece of Greek sculpture' had 'part of a machine cut into it.'⁹⁶ In just the way Ozenfant juxtaposes comparisons between artefacts from very different time periods, such as a man in a fedora hat with a shaman from a Congolese tribe, Paolozzi compares images of ancient art with cartoon characters from the modern age. Much like Ozenfant, Paolozzi mediates between devotional artefacts and modern photography, and between art from non-Western cultures and imagery from the more traditional sources. By bringing together disparate images or by distorting well-known appearances, Paolozzi intends to jog the mind out of its habitual associations. Juxtaposition, distortion, and simplification, modification: all

⁹³ Ibid, p,34.

⁹⁴ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1988. 'Jesus and the Volkswagen' lecture, King's College, London.

⁹⁵ Robin Spencer (ed.). 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi: Writings and Interviews* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), esp. 223–330.

⁹⁶ Eduardo Paolozzi. 29 Nov.1988. 'Foundations of Art Revisited,' The CAS Annual lecture delivered at the Tate Gallery, London.

are ways of arriving at what the artist perceived to be new visual metaphors. He intended to encourage a new kind of nonlinear interpretation.

For Ozenfant, masterpieces were 'always modern': Seurat, the Egyptians, the Cubists, the Greeks, Cezanne, African art, Michelangelo and the incised carvings of prehistoric caves are all considered timeless in their appeal because, they did not simply satisfy 'a passing need,' they 'appeal to our constants.'⁹⁷ Paolozzi reveals his kinship with Ozenfant's fresh way of appraising the visual world in his scrapbooks of the early 1940s. One collage, dating from the early 1940s, brings together an article describing, 'new glass processing methods for Photography,' with reproduction photographs of ancient and modern sculpture (Figure 24): Paolozzi fixes a Canaanite Idol next to an image of a youth standing erect — echoing the upright stature of the sculpture — the Venus of Lespugue positioned next to an unknown work of modern sculpture titled 'Standing Woman.' Orbiting the central images of the composition are technological ephemera, including some Gillette razor blades and a steel ingot.⁹⁸ The artist parallels Ozenfant's argument that new ways of making art have replaced older ones: he commends the twentieth century inventions — the camera, disposable shaving utensils and new man-made materials — as being of equal importance to the art made by our ancestors in the ancient past. By invoking images of ancient votive sculpture, and by overlaying this with technology, Paolozzi also follows Ozenfant's line of argument which suggests the age of religion has been usurped by the age of reason. Interestingly, Paolozzi's choice and lay-out of photographs of sculptures and the human figure also resonate strongly with Ozenfant and Le Corbusier's notions of the evolution of form, to which I shall return to later.

Paolozzi's surviving jottings for the 'Jesus and the Volkswagen' lecture reveal more about the artist's sources. Paolozzi began his scene-setting thoughts with Walter Benjamin's essay, written in Paris, in the autumn of 1935, 'The Work of Art in the

⁹⁷ Ozenfant 1952, p.315.

⁹⁸ Eduardo Paolozzi. c.1940-5. Scrapbook. Reference: AAD/1985/3/6/7 (Victoria & Albert Museum).

Age of Its Mechanical Reproduction.’⁹⁹ The meaning of works of art, said Paolozzi, citing Benjamin, had a lot to do with where and when and how they were displayed. He traces this lineage from caves, where they had a cult or ritual function; via cathedrals, where they instructed and celebrated a religious function; to galleries, where eventually they became a form of currency; to the high street – in the age of the lithograph, following the ages of the woodcut, the engraving, and the etching. Paolozzi makes the point that works of art made in contemporary times had to compete with the products of mass production and mass communication. When art reproductions are available to everyone – as postcards, posters, illustrations, or increasingly as films – the originals to which they refer take on new meanings. If we know the story already, then when we directly confront a work of art, are we merely looking at the details, the surfaces, the close-up zone that the reproduction cannot reproduce, the presence of the work in time and space? Paolozzi cited the classic example of the *Mona Lisa* to explain this.¹⁰⁰ The New Photography which flourished in the 1920s and 1930s, presenting a host of unconventional photographic forms and techniques seemed to provide an alternative to mimetically reproducing the ‘real.’ Abstract photograms, photomontages composed of fragmented images, the combination of photographs with modern typography and graphic design in posters and magazines pages – all were facets of what the artist and theorist László Moholy-Nagy enthusiastically described as a ‘new vision,’ rooted in the technological culture of the twentieth century, which provided a new window onto the world. These new forms of capturing the world through the lens were recycled by Ozenfant, and paired off with equally unusual types of differing subjects, to give an extra modern wash on already cutting-edge subjects. Paolozzi’s scrapbooks of the late 1940s are similarly filled with second-hand photographic images of extreme close-ups, documentary

⁹⁹ Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, vol.3, 1935–1938, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002); John A. Walker. 1983. *Art in the Age of Mass Media* (London: Pluto Press); and John Berger. 1972. *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin). Berger did much to popularize Benjamin’s essay in the early 1970s. Unfortunately, at that stage the title of the essay had been mistranslated as ‘Mechanical Reproduction.’ Benjamin was writing about potential applications. His essay was intended to be part of a much larger project about reproducibility in a range of media and its implications. Sadly, he never completed the project.

¹⁰⁰ Frayling 2009, pp.247-8.

reportage, shots taken from off-centre angles to create asymmetrical views invested with dynamism, birds-eye views and worms-eye views, all ultimately dependent on the 'machine for seeing' for discovering a new way of seeing the world.¹⁰¹

The machine was of central importance for Ozenfant and Le Corbusier who together founded *L'Esprit Nouveau*. The duo extolled the 'lessons inherent in the precision of machinery'; interpreting the invention of the machine as asserting the seeing of a new age.¹⁰² More than simply a metaphor, the machine was a demonstrable catalyst for change. Purism treated the machine as a subject of equal importance to those presented in traditional works of art:

It is better to be a first-class engineer than a second-rate artist. Engineers can be, after all, important personages. Ettoe Bugatti is greater than his brother the late sculptor Rembrandt Bugatti. But his motor cars, though perfection today, will be old junk in twenty years, whereas the shattered Parthenon will serenely throne over the ages.¹⁰³

Interpreted in light of his understanding of the principles of *L'Esprit Nouveau*, Paolozzi's confluences of eclectic mechanical imagery take on new meanings. For example, a page within an early 1940s scrapbook, in which Paolozzi juxtaposes an image of an electrostatic generator with a photograph of Pearl Harbour and the Sphinx in Egypt, and with a diagram of a motorcar's engine, could be interpreted as extending and meditating on Ozenfant's quasi-mystical faith in the power of technology to form society: the machine could offer life enhancing properties, its orderliness and efficiency an inspirational metaphor for modern life, and its indomitable presence key to promoting victory through warfare. What is more, when contextualised within Ozenfant's theory of art, the machine's aesthetic complexity could be construed as akin to the timeless fascination provided by a painting or sculpture. Ozenfant's enthusiasm for the inauguration of the machine

¹⁰¹ Eduardo Paolozzi. c.1940-5. Scrapbook. Reference: AAD/1985/3/6/8 (Victoria & Albert Museum).

¹⁰² Ozenfant and Jeanneret ran an art magazine called *L'Esprit Nouveau* spanning from 1920-1925 that was used as propaganda towards their Purist movement, quotation reproduced in Susan L. Ball. 1981. *Ozenfant and Purism: The Evolution of a Style 1915-1930* (Ann Arbor; UMI research Press), p.231.

¹⁰³ Amédée Ozenfant. 1929. 'The Fundamentals of Art,' *Modernist Architecture: A Database of Architectural Theory* (02.02.2012):<http://modernistarchitecture.wordpress.com/2011/08/31/amedee-ozenfant%E2%80%99s-the-fundamentals-of-art-1929/>.

age was shared by the Russian Constructivists, and, more importantly when considering Paolozzi's dual nationality, the Italian Futurists.

1.7 Metal and Machine: Paolozzi and the Cult of the Machine

Our hearts were filled with an immense pride at feeling ourselves standing quite alone, like lighthouses or like the sentinels in an outpost, facing the army of enemy stars encamped in their celestial bivouacs. Alone with the engineers in the infernal stokeholes of great ships, alone with the black spirits which rage in the belly of rogue locomotives, alone with the drunkards beating their wings against the walls.

(F. T. Marinetti. 1909. 'The First Futurist Manifesto' reprinted in John Whittam.1995. *Fascist Italy*, Manchester University Press, p.158)

We know that Ozenfant's *Foundations of Modern Art* was, for Paolozzi, concerned with 'trying to recapture the innocence that I thought I was going to lose while I was at Oxford,' which strongly suggests it was the dynamic mechanised forms of Futurism and its lasting legacy within the cultural aesthetics of Fascist Italy which originally inspired him in childhood.¹⁰⁴ The Italian Futurists were the original machine art inventors, and were responsible for its influence proliferating across Europe. A political movement from outset, Futurism was created as a revolutionary force to overturn the country's seeming stagnation. Italy had only been unified as a modern nation-state by Garibaldi in 1863, and was industrially and economically under-developed in comparison with France, Germany and Britain at the beginning of the twentieth century. The country's artistic reputation was also non-progressive, grounded in Ancient, Renaissance and Baroque art and culture. To a growing number of its inhabitants Italy was considered backward-looking, stuck in the past.¹⁰⁵ The machine provided the Futurists with a tangible symbol with which they could overthrow the past and communicate a new future for Italy dawning. Exciting innovations like electricity, x-rays, radio waves, automobiles and airplanes offered the movement a ready-made medium and a metaphor for change.

¹⁰⁴ Eduardo Paolozzi. undated, c.1995. Interview with Sue Lawley, British Library Audio Collection, London.

¹⁰⁵ Graziella Marchielli. 1996. *Futurism and Fascism: the Politicisation of Art and the Aestheticization of Politics, 1909 – 1944* (University of Iowa, PhD thesis, UMI), p.3-5. This notion of unification paralleled the days of ancient Rome or the de Medici, when the power of the country lay in the hands of the citizens of its country, and not with foreign powers.

Through embracing mechanisation the Futurists believed they could activate progress through industrialization, mass-production, and mechanized warfare. The first text which laid-out the mission statement of Futurism was published in 1909 in *Le Figaro*, Paris. Umberto Boccioni, Carlo Carrà, Luigi Russolo, Giacomo Balla, and Gino Severini signed their names to the *Manifesto of Futurist Painting*, published in *Poesia* (1910), which demonstrates that the group were unified by an excitement for the potentialities of a soon coming-to-be machine age:

Our forebears drew their artistic inspiration from a religious atmosphere which fed their souls; in the same way we must breathe in the tangible miracles of contemporary life – the iron network of speedy communications which envelops the earth, the transatlantic liners, the dreadnoughts these marvellous flights which furrow the skies, the profound courage of our submarine navigators...¹⁰⁶

Paolozzi's rhapsodic thoughts about a technologised future, which he expressed in 'The Vision of Our Age,' originally broadcast on the BBC in 1961 on the television series *Insight*, echo Futurist technophile rhetoric:

In the last fifty years, science seems to be the outstanding leading direction, the most considerable direction that man has taken. It is trying continually to go beyond what is possible till that very moment. I think there is a possibility in what I call, crudely, higher science, a tremendous possibility of man being free. And I think that it can give me a certain kind of strength, in the sense that art can move into a similar category of freedom...¹⁰⁷

It is surprising, given the central importance of the machine to Futurism, that a majority of early Futurist art marginalised its appearance. Umberto Boccioni's *Train in Motion* (1911) captured the sense of flux of movement and interpenetration of forces apparent in describing the contemporary phenomena of speed, and successfully evinced Henri Bergson's principle of *universal dynamism*, but he did not celebrate the mechanical infrastructure of the train. Similarly, Carlo Carrà's *Milan Station* (1911) accentuated the fleeting nature of modern life through a riot of colour

¹⁰⁶ Umberto Boccioni. Feb.1910. 'Manifesto of the Futurist Painters,' *Poesia*, reprinted in dedicated website (12.12.2010): <http://www.unknown.nu/futurism/>.

¹⁰⁷ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1964. 'The Vision of Our Age,' published in Dr. J. Bronowski, *Insight* (London: Macdonald), pp.99 – 100, reprinted as 'The Iconography of the Present,' in Robin Spencer, ed. 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi Writings and Interviews* (Oxford University Press), p.91-2.

and form, but seemed rather less preoccupied with describing the source from which these forces emanated. Giacomo Balla's *Abstract Speed* (1913) went further, omitting the necessity of introducing the presence of a subject at all, preferring to abstract Futurist dynamism into lines of force. Paolozzi's early work, on the other hand, shows a preoccupation with bringing together imagery of trains, aeroplanes, submarines, and great cities sympathetic to Marinetti's Futurist vision of a progressive world. From his earliest years, Paolozzi used to entertain himself by constructing Meccano models and rebuilding radio sets (which his father installed in every room of the family shop and living quarters on Leith Walk).¹⁰⁸ It also explains his initial enrolment at evening classes in mechanics at Edinburgh College of Art in 1941 before he settled on becoming an artist. Furthermore, it provides a credible reason for why Paolozzi preferred to portray intimately in ink and pencil *Carburettors* (1944), rather than drawing conventional still-life subjects of inanimate objects pertaining to the story of Western painting, such as drinking glasses, books, vases, jewellery, fruit, coins, pipes, and so on (Figure 25).

Whether or not *Carburettors* was intended as a symbolic revolutionary gesture remains ambiguous, nevertheless, his selection of the machine as a subject asserts a progressive presence befitting an artist intent on being resolutely Modern. It is clear the artist was intent on creating an artistic vocabulary which he considered relevant to the times.¹⁰⁹ Paolozzi's repetitious use of imagery of speed, technology, youth and violence were all aspects of modernity exalted by Marinetti. Indeed, *I was a Rich Man's Plaything* (1946) brings each of these elements together in one composition (Figure 26). The collage can be broken into two distinct but interlinked parts: the dominant half of the picture plane is taken up with a pulp-fiction article cut-out wholesale from a cheap magazine entitled 'Intimate Confessions.' This article recounts a woman's story about life as a prostitute and is juxtaposed with an illustration of a sexy pin-up model in the mould of Ava Gardner.¹¹⁰ The lower half

¹⁰⁸ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1995. Interview with Frank Whitford, British Library Audio Collection, London.

¹⁰⁹ Caroline Tisdall and Angelo Bozzolla. 1966 (1977). *Futurism*, Thames & Hudson), p.8.

¹¹⁰ Toby Treves, *I was a Rich Man's Plaything* (1946) catalogue entry (Tate Gallery, London).

of the composition has been filled with a World War II bomber depicted in flight with the caption, 'keep them flying'. Expressions of aggression unify the two selected images — the smoking gun entering from the upper right aimed point blank at the starlet's face is paralleled by the wartime struggles entering the fray in the bottom right. Additional 'signs' inserted in the composition have been used to connect the seemingly disparate images, namely advertisements for cherry pie and 'Real Gold' positioned next to the femme fatale which suggest the artist's condemnation of the cheap charms of sexually liberated women, and an advertisement for Coca-Cola which invites speculation about Paolozzi's perception of America as offering a tangible vision of the progressive future.¹¹¹

The boldly-coloured mass-produced printed media, glamorous popular fashions, luxury goods such as cigarettes and high quality instant foods in *I was a Rich Man's Plaything* have generally been interpreted as Paolozzi's intoxication for America's land of plenty. This has in part been explained through the artist's admission that he made his collages from American magazines given to him by ex-GIs stationed in Paris. Certainly, Paolozzi recalls that the ex-GI and painter Charlie Marks gave him a number of copies of the New York-based journal *View*, from which he 'reaped images to make collages,' although, as John Paul Stonard suggests, it is more likely that *View* would have been passed to him by Mary Reynolds who was the Paris representative of the magazine.¹¹² *I was a Rich Man's Plaything* does not, however, reuse any images from *View*, nor are any of the images definitively sourced from US magazines.¹¹³ America's successful exportation of its glamorous capitalist dream best explains critical assumptions about the artist's image base invested in such works. The discovery of the power of technology ensuant upon World War I had caused a vogue of Americanism to sweep across the world. The general impression was that this was the dawn of a new era of which the Americans had become, if not

¹¹¹ Pepe Karmel. 2003. *Picasso and the Invention of Cubism* (Yale University Press), p.4 This is a parody of the female's dual role as a consumer and as "goods for sale". A number of elements cut off from their context in the newspaper are combined to suggest her availability: the price "2.85" and the words above "Method of Payment", "Massage" and "Trou Ici"— meaning "hole here".

¹¹² Stonard 2008, p.245.

¹¹³ Ibid, p.246

exactly the models, then the pioneers and frontrunners.¹¹⁴ Malespine wrote in the first issue of *Manometre*, that, '[t]he industrial class has just discovered America – Business, Dollars, Trusts, Taylorization, Standardization, Superproduction, Organization, etc. Etc.'¹¹⁵ The United States, from Modernism's earliest days, functioned as a stimulus for European artists in their approach to modernity.¹¹⁶

Paolozzi, in the same way as his modernist forebears, was interested in the *concept* of America rather than *actual* America.¹¹⁷ For Paolozzi, this land of plenty seemed to realize – albeit for a finite period, a vision far-removed from the staid and backward-looking British one he inhabited. As he recalled in interview, when meditating on the British art world in the 1950s:

The American magazines represented a catalogue of an exotic society, selling tinned pears was transformed into multi-coloured dreams, where sensuality and virility combined in form, in our [the Independent Group's] view, an art form more subtle and fulfilling than the orthodox choice either the Tate Gallery or the Royal Academy. To me this alternative culture had – and has – more energy and excitement than official culture.¹¹⁸

Paolozzi's *Meet the People* (1948) and *Real Gold* (1949) import similarly alluring bright and shiny packaged consumer goods into the world of 'art.' Paolozzi's intoxication for disposable visual culture can be located as far back as his childhood when he unpacked and laid-out confectionary, cigars and sweetmeats for the customers visiting his family's shop.¹¹⁹ Much like Andy Warhol, also an immigrant from a working class family, Paolozzi found that there was something enticingly

¹¹⁴ C. Lasch. 1978. *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in the Age of Diminishing Expectations* (New York Norton), p.12.

¹¹⁵ Malespine.1952. *Manometre*, u.p.

¹¹⁶ Christine Lindey.1990. *Art in the Cold War – from Vladivostok to Kalamazoo, 1945-1962* (The Herbert Press), p.8.

¹¹⁷ John A. Walker provides a thorough analysis of the relationship between post-war Britain and America in *Cultural Offensive: America's Impact on British Art Since 1945* (Sterling).

¹¹⁸ Tobia Bezzola. 2008. 'Just what is it that makes European Homes so Different, so Appealing?' Tobia Bezzola and Franziska Lentzsch, *Europop* (Kunsthaus Zurich, Dumont), p.x.

¹¹⁹ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1988. 'Wonderful World,' reprinted in Robin Spencer (ed.). 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi Writings and Interviews*, (Oxford University Press), p.47.

democratic about quality branded goods.¹²⁰ They were available to anyone who could afford them.¹²¹ These bright, readily-interpretable and easily affordable forms of popular art offered a glowing alternative to dull and colourless wartime rationing and apprehended a better world coming into being.

When seen within socio-historical and more specifically Paolozzi's autobiographical context, these collages with their selection of high-coloured commonplace ephemera, are most compellingly interpreted as a celebration of the glorious consumerist potentialities of what mechanization could offer, although as with all works of Pop art there is an ambiguity within the dialogue and an ironic bite which cannot be overlooked. Thus, whilst a secure interpretation is desirable, as a result of the unreliable attempts at dating his individual collages, Paolozzi's political intentions cannot be affirmed here. What is clear is that the artist creates a language of forms from the detritus of mechanised society. The artist said in a late interview with Frank Whitford:

I thought the alternative might have been America, particularly if you had Italian parents and you didn't feel that particularly English, the alternative might have been America.¹²²

Compared with his experience of under-industrialised Italy, and the decaying class-inhibited and antiquated ways of British society, the dynamic, economically competitive land of the free must have looked seductive. Paolozzi's fascination with the vision of a fully mechanised Capitalist society resonates closely with the hopes invested in technology by *L'Espirit Nouveau* and the Futurists who were awaiting a 'New World' or a 'New Order' coming into being.¹²³

¹²⁰ Sarat Maharaj. Sept. 1992. 'Pop art's pharmacies: kitsch, consumerist objects and signs, the unmentionable,' *Art History*, v.15, no.n3 (Blackwell Publishers Ltd), p.340 Andy Warhol was the son of working-class immigrants from north-eastern Slovakia.

¹²¹ Branding fast denoted a level of quality expectation. Prior to this codification of a product's composition being controlled it was more common, especially for lower-earning households, to buy black-market goods which were often unreliable. Buying into a brand gave the consumer assurance in their purchase.

¹²² Paolozzi 1993, audio interview British Library.

¹²³ S. Aronowitz. 2003. *How Class Works: Power and Social Movements* New Haven (Yale University Press), p.22.

The cult of the machine was as important to Italian Fascism as it was for the Futurists. Indeed, as Lindsay Scott has cogently argued, the conditions for Italian Fascism's origination were to a large extent shaped by the ideals of the avant-garde, which called for a nationalist secular religion that would restore Italy to greatness.¹²⁴ The Fascists believed Italy's future stability and affluence would be, as Frank Whitford put it, 'forged by machines, driven by power stations, and serviced by production lines.'¹²⁵ They were convinced of the longer-term benefits of greater industrialisation, and, as a consequence, were keen to phase out existing agrarian systems in favour of a capitalist one. Placing so much significance on the machine encouraged the idea of a subordination of human beings to machines – to work together for the greater Fascist good. In contradistinction to Futurism, however, the wider cultural aesthetics of Italian Fascism remained sympathetic to the triumphant iconography of Italy's former days.

1.8 Iron Fists: Paolozzi and the Aesthetics of Power

Whilst it is clear Paolozzi's boyhood fascination for the machine must have been spurred on by Futurist zeal, his introduction of ephemera relating to Italy's ancient past in his collage more clearly align the artist's aesthetics with the dualistic appearance of Italian State art and popular culture in the 1930s and '40s. Paolozzi's *Acropolis Museum* (1946/7) is a cut-and-pasted composition conflating the Doric ruins of the ancient Greek temple, sacred to Athena ('Protectress of the City'), with cut-and-pasted machine parts (Fig. 27).¹²⁶ This comparison suggests that the artist is connecting one of the most preeminent cultural masterpieces (dating from the mid-

¹²⁴ Lindsay Scott. 2002. 'The relationship between fascism, society and art between the late nineteenth century and 1945,' *Art in the Age of Modernism* (University of Western Australia), pp.2-25.

¹²⁵ Frank Whitford, 'Art & Power – Images of the 1930s,' reproduced in Lutz Becker and Martin Caiger-Smith (ed.). 1996. *Art and Power: Europe Under the Dictators 1930 – 45* (Hayward Gallery, London in collaboration with the Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona), 26 February – 6 May, touring, p.iv.

¹²⁶ Robertson, Martin.1981. *A Shorter History of Greek Art* (Cambridge University Press), p.xxiii.

6th century BC) with the twentieth century's invention of the machine. If interpreted in relation to Futurist technophile rhetoric, Paolozzi's superimposition of mechanised forms over an image of the Acropolis could suggest the artist is pitting art against the machine, or rather, asserting victory of what Christine Poggi called 'the machine's cold hard forms' over the devotional idols of the past.¹²⁷ Futurism urged for a replacement of Italy's follies' of the past:

In the eyes of other countries, Italy is still dead, a vast Pompeii, white with sepulchres. But Italy is being reborn. Its political resurgence will be followed by a cultural resurgence. In the land inhabited by the illiterate peasant, schools will be set up; in the land where doing nothing in the sun was the only available profession, millions of machines are ready roaring; in the land where traditional aesthetics reigned supreme, new flights of artistic inspiration are emerging and dazzling the world with their brilliance.¹²⁸

Paolozzi does not deface the art of the past; he does not metaphorically raze the Acropolis to the ground, but rather seeks to embellish it with mechanised forms as if to bring it up-to-date. In accordance with the teachings of Le Corbusier and Ozenfant, Paolozzi interprets the forms of the machine like those of great art, as evolving through time. In *Vers Une Architecture*, much of the content of which was published earlier in editions of *L'Esprit Nouveau*, and a summary version appears in *Foundations of Modern Art*, Le Corbusier compares the Paestum (600 – 550 BC) with the 'Humber' (1907), and the Parthenon with the Delage 'Grand Sport' (1921).¹²⁹ His underlying motivation for doing so was to show that, over time, form can be refined, possibly into being a classic. Le Corbusier continues to compare the machine directly with the Parthenon: 'All this plastic machinery is realised in marble with the rigour that we have learned to apply in the machine. The impression of naked polished steel.'¹³⁰ By making such a comparison Le Corbusier argues technology to be as important an act of human endeavour as the building of

¹²⁷ Christine Poggi. 2010. *Inventing Futurism: The Art and Politics of Artificial Optimism* (Princeton University Press), p.233.

¹²⁸ Umberto Boccioni. 1910. *Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture*: <http://www.unknown.nu/futurism/>.

¹²⁹ Mistranslated *Towards a New Architecture* (1923) in English, Le Corbusier, trans. Frederick Etchells. 1998. *Essential Le Corbusier: L'Esprit Nouveau Articles* (Architectural Press), p.32-40.

¹³⁰ Le Corbusier. 2008. *Toward an Architecture* (Frances Lincoln Ltd), p.180-2. Le Corbusier's *Vers une architecture* (1923), published in English as *Towards a New Architecture* (1927).

this great work of art. He manages to reconcile being modern with being sensitive to history.

Published a year after Mussolini came to power, in *Towards a New Architecture* Le Corbusier suggested, 'Rome's business was to conquer the world and to govern it...if it is brutal, so much the worse, or so much the better.'¹³¹ While it might be stretching things too far to suggest that Le Corbusier was unquestioning in his Fascist sympathies (here he is referring to antiquity), the paternal overtones, the latent fear and the utopian delusions to which the leader of architectural modernism gave voice nevertheless found full expression under Fascism. In Fascism's early years, Mussolini had a relatively open attitude to the arts. At an exhibition opening in 1923 the dictator said:

I declare that it is far from my idea to encourage anything like a state art. Art belongs to the domain of the individual. The state has only one duty: not to undermine art, to provide humane conditions for artists, to encourage them from the artistic and national point of view.¹³²

This relatively liberal view narrowed by the late 1930s as Mussolini moved closer to Hitler and Italian artists, and Italians in general came to realise the full meaning of Fascism.¹³³ It is specifically with the early phase of the rise of Italian Fascism, characterised by a multiplicity of artistic styles all competing for state approval, which is most relevant for explaining the paradoxical tendencies apparent in Paolozzi's early to mid 1940s works.

Under Mussolini there was a drive to create a modern state – using modernist Futurist art and Rationalist architecture to do so – but there was equally pro-activity

¹³¹ Ibid, p.196.

¹³² Benito Mussolini (1923) reprinted in Barbara McCloskey. 2005. *Artists of World War II* (Greenwood Press, USA), p.89.

¹³³ R. J. B. Bosworth and Patrizia Dogalinni (ed.). 1999. *Italian Fascism: History, Memory and Representation* (New York, St Martin's Press) and Anne Bowler. Dec. 1991. 'Politics as Art: Italian Futurism and Fascism,' *Theory and Society* Vol. 20, No. 6 (Springer) explore the changing relationship between the politics of Italian Fascism and the art produced under Mussolini's reign.

in reclaiming patronage and focusing on Imperialism.¹³⁴ The Jewish socialite and art critic Margherita Sarfatti who protagonised the Novecento group put it eloquently:

This imperial expansionism of Italian culture, which, like a river that never stagnates but is fed by other rivers, gives and takes universally assimilates and is assimilated, is a spiritual attitude characteristic of Fascism and its ever intensifying revival of the universal and imperial ancient tradition.¹³⁵

These seemingly oppositional forces created a debate between inclusion and exclusion in the realm of culture in Italy in the 1930s. The struggle was between a stylistically multitudinous vision and a unitary one, a dialectical approach to culture and a monolithic one. For the anti-pluralists, who, as Marla Stone has determined, desired an aesthetic purge on Italian Fascist's culture hybridity, the inclusivity implied an insecurity and weakness that threatened the very being of the regime.¹³⁶ Italian Fascism was committed to both restoration and innovation.¹³⁷ The aesthetics of its campaign sought an identity which unified these apparently conflicting belief systems: some sought to resurrect Rome's former grandeur, to building the nation's future 'either upon transcendence of the past or even its outright erasure,' others contented themselves with creating a futuristic image for Italy redolent of Empire building mechanisation.¹³⁸

1.9 Rejuvenating Classicism: Nike a Symbol of Victory

If, as has been revealed, few Futurist artists actually visually incorporated the machine in their paintings, Paolozzi's *Nike des Paionios* (1946) visually embodies Marinetti's rallying cry (Figure 28):

We declare that the splendour of the world has been enriched by a new beauty: the beauty of speed. A racing automobile with its bonnet adorned

¹³⁴ Marla Stone. 1998. *The Patron State – Culture & Politics in Fascist Italy* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey) provides a detailed account of the complex identity of Italian Fascist aesthetics.

¹³⁵ Margherita Sarfatti 1923 reprinted in 2000. *A Primer of Italian Fascism* edited by Jeffrey Thompson Schnapp, Olivia E. Sears, Maria G. Stampino (University of Nebraska), p.245.

¹³⁶ Marla Stone. 1998. *The Patron State: Culture and Politics in Fascist Italy* (Princeton University Press), pp. 227-9.

¹³⁷ Jeffery Schnapp has referred to these artists as intent on 'remembering and renewing that past.'

¹³⁸ Jeffery Schnapp. 2003. *La Mostra della Rivoluzione fascista del 1932: genesi – sviluppo – contesto culturale-storico – ricezione*. With an afterword by Claudio Fogu (Piste – Piccola biblioteca di storia 4. Rome-Pisa: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali), p.64-6.

with great tubes like serpents with explosive breath ... a roaring motor car which seems to run on machine-gun fire, is more beautiful than the *Victory of Samothrace*.¹³⁹

At the same time as presenting a Futuristic image, Paolozzi's Nike is a convincing embodiment of Mussolini's aspirational imperative to build a new Rome. Paolozzi's collage is configured from a recuperated illustration of the Greek masterpiece (erected by the people of Messenia and Naupactus to celebrate the defeat of Sparta in the fifth century BC), which the artist picked-up from one of the second-hand book stores he frequented near the British Museum.¹⁴⁰ This cheaply printed reproduction of Paeonius of Mende's Nike has been overlaid with an assortment of machine parts which Paolozzi has reaped from engineering pattern books. Conflating these two seemingly paradoxical sets of iconography resonates with Ozenfant's and Le Corbusier's deconstruction of hierarchies within the arts. It also lends itself to being interpreted as asserting the duo's theory of the evolution of form: Paolozzi's updated *Nike des Paionios* accords equal status to the advanced engineering behind the creation of machine as it does to the architectural mastery behind Paeonius of Mende's classical statue. More generally, though, its vocabulary of antithetical signifiers – bringing together the mechanical with the classical – relates to the dialectical cultural discourse particular to Fascist Italy in the 1930s.

Recuperating Italy's Imperial past was important to Mussolini for building a strong nationalistic spirit that could unify all Italians. He wanted to re-establish the greatness of the Roman Empire. He dreamed of a Greater Italia, and witnessing the 'transformation of the Mediterranean into an Italian *mare nostrum*.'¹⁴¹ By the time Italy entered World War II, she was already a major Mediterranean power, controlling the north and south shores of the central basin; Il Duce's Fascist project, however, was to realise the capturing of the Mediterranean shores from Egypt to the Indian Ocean, and the shores of Kenya and Somalia. Despite periods of Axis

¹³⁹ F.T. Marinetti. February 20, 1909. 'The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism', (Original publication in French: *Le Figaro*, Paris) Apollonio, Umbro, ed. 1973. *Documents of 20th Century Art: Futurist Manifestos*. Brain, Robert, R.W. Flint, J.C. Higgitt, and Caroline Tisdall, trans. (New York: Viking Press), pp.19-24.

¹⁴⁰ Spencer 2000, p.18.

¹⁴¹ Luigi Federzoni. 1995. 'Fascism as the Victory of the New Italy,' reproduced in Roger Griffin (ed.), *Fascism* (Oxford University Press), p.40.

ascendency during the Battle of the Mediterranean Mussolini's dream was never realised, and ended altogether with the final Italian defeat in September 1943.¹⁴² The counterpointing of the historic Greco-Roman symbol of victory in *Nike des Paionios* with imagery of the machine suggest Paolozzi was assimilating from the visual stimulus provided by Italian Fascist propaganda campaigns and works of art created under Mussolini's political rise. The duality present in state art commissions was intended to propagate the notion that successes for Italy depended on its embracement of mechanisation. The artist's selection of the theme of victory further embeds his vision within an Italian context, since winged victories span the monumental history of Fascist Italy. Leading sculptors Arturo Martini and Mario Marini both recuperated this popular theme, Lucio Fontana's *Image of Victory* made for the *Salon della Vittoria*, at the IV Triennale in Milan, 1936, was a particularly memorable visitation on the theme. Fontana's Victory was constructed after the Fascist capture of Addis Ababa (Figure 29).¹⁴³

Paolozzi's collage of *Victory* corresponds with the resurgence of interest in this theme during Italy's Fascist period, perhaps best typified by Fontana's state sanctioned rendition. Conceived in white plaster, and placed in front of two pairs of rearing horses, Fontana's *Image of Victory* is a successful attempt at capturing something of the ambitious spirit of Fascism. Fontana's letter describing the construction process of making *Image of Victory* on the 25th May 1926, to his father, reveals the grand scale of his vision 'at last I have finished the colossal piece...in the last month I have had to make two horses, six metres high, in plaster...this last week I have been having injections to strengthen my heart so that I could get the work done.'¹⁴⁴ Common to both artists' works are their references to Italy's former Imperial heritage, whilst Paolozzi makes direct reference to *Nike des Paionios*, Fontana looks to the colossal Dioscuri groups for inspiration. These were the original horsemen at the reins, the twins Castor and Pollux were sons of Zeus, the

¹⁴² John Barron. 1965. *Greek Sculpture* (Studio Vista Ltd., London and New York), p.58.

¹⁴³ Gottschaller, Pia. 2012. *Lucio Fontana: The Artist's Materials* (J. Paul Getty Trust), p.12.

¹⁴⁴ Lucio Fontana.1936. Reproduced in Sarah Whitfield. 1999. *Lucio Fontana*. (University of California Press, Berkley and the Hayward Gallery), p.176.

two closely associated with the founding of Rome. Both Victories also import aspects of the Futuristic: whilst Paolozzi uses machine parts to adorn the Greek goddess, Fontana employs a concern for pared-down expressionistic form to give his Victory a modern veneer. Fontana's radiant white plaster simultaneously projects a modernist vision of utopia and a traditional Catholic one.¹⁴⁵

One contemporary critic compared the experience of entering the white monochromatic architecture of the large Salon in which Fontana's sculpture was exhibited, to 'entering a painting or a poem...the sudden immersion in the white makes us lose our very sense of weight and every yard stick of measurement.'¹⁴⁶ The celestial experience achieved by Fontana fulfilled the final requirement of a successful work of Fascist art; it accessed a religious or 'higher' purpose to inspire hope and to purify the nation. Erected on a plinth, the following inscription appeared below Fontana's majestic *Image of Victory*:

The Italian people have created an Empire in their blood. They will make it fertile with their work, and they will defend it with arms against anyone.¹⁴⁷

Notions of victory within Italian Fascism were interdependent on notions of violence and self-sacrifice. Paolozzi's rendition of the theme also meditates on violence and redemption: his use of the paradigmatic symbol of Nike yokes mechanical weapon, angel and victory in one compound image..

Nike historically personified victory and was depicted airborne around battlefields rewarding the victors with glory and fame. Most often winged and infrequently appearing as a divine charioteer, the figure of Victory later elided into imagery of the angel. The goddess has come to simultaneously symbolise victory, sacrifice, resurrection and death.¹⁴⁸ In the twentieth century its symbolism metamorphosed again and the 'winged victory,' as Tim Benton has made clear, became synonymous

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p.177.

¹⁴⁶ The architectural critic, Eduardo Persico, together with Giancarlo Piretti, have been credited with designing the overall concept of the Victory Hall: Persico described it as 'attempt at defining a monumental system, adapted to a museum or to the grand salon of modern 'palazzo.'"

¹⁴⁷ Whitfield 1999, p.176.

¹⁴⁸ Penelope Curtis. 2003. *Dead Language Sculpture: Sculpture from Fascist Italy* (Henry Moore Institute in assoc. With MART), p.26-8.

with automobilism. Its image, hailing a brave new world of technology ever advancing, was recouped as a fitting emblem for the machine age.¹⁴⁹ Used promiscuously in popular art, the Victory's winged image was captured in posters such as Henri Bellery-Desfontaines's advertisement for Richard-Brazier's car (which won the Gordon Bennett trophy in 1904), and became a popular mascot for motor companies. Perhaps the most famous winged victory was the *Spirit of Ecstasy*, by Charles Sykes, which won a prize at the *Salon de l'Automobile* in 1911, which has been used ever since by Rolls-Royce.¹⁵⁰ Most importantly, when considered in terms of Paolozzi's use of the theme, the figure of victory brought together an undercurrent of violence with an aspirational vision of a mechanised future soon apprehended as coming-into-being.

If the Greco-Roman origin of Paolozzi's *Nike des Paionios* is attributable to a specific historical source, there was notable continuity, as Penelope Curtis has convincingly pointed out, between traditional representations of Victory and the dynamic and forward-moving figures of Futurism.¹⁵¹ Futurist mechanical anthropomorphisms help to explain Paolozzi's mechanised additions to his Nike. Paolozzi's awareness of Boccioni's aviator warrior rendered in *Unique Forms of Continuity in Space* (1913) can be noted owing to a reproduction of the work appearing in the artist's scrapbook, but it is in what Giovanni Lista has classified the 'Mechanical art' of the 1920s that a more definitive link between winged Victory and the machine age is conceived.¹⁵² In 1922, Paladini and Panaggi launched the *Manifesto of Mechanical Art* which was signed by Enrico Prampolini in 1923. Prampolini published *Aesthetic of the Machine and Mechanical Introspection* in *Art in De Stijl* in August, 1922 and in *Broom* in October. *The Manifesto for Mechanical Art* was published in the *Bulletin de l'Effort Moderne* in 1925. Amongst the tear-sheets Paolozzi collected, an article on Giacomo Balla's electric light infused vistas, and a reproduction of *Airways and Airports* (July

¹⁴⁹ Tim Benton. 1990. 'Dreams of Machines: Futurism and l'Esprit Nouveau,' *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 24.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Curtis 2003, p.24.

¹⁵² Eduardo Paolozzi. c.1940-1960. Buff coloured Scrapbook entitled 'People of China'. Reference: AAD/1985/3/6/5, London (Victoria & Albert Museum).

1934), by an unidentified member of *il secondo futurismo* (Second Futurism) have been salvaged.¹⁵³ It was the Second generation Futurists, conveniently distinguished from Futurism's earlier incarnation by art historians and critics to avoid, as Günter Berghaus put it, 'delving into the movement's political affiliations with Italian Fascism,' who invented *aeropittura*.¹⁵⁴ As a movement, despite artistic differences between the Milan group – lead by Filippo Marinetti, Alberto Boccioni, and Giacomo Balla – and its faction in Florence – which included Carlo Carrà, Ardengo Soffici and Giovanni Papini – Futurism resiliently continued as 'a noisy and often brilliant and influential side-show' so Richard Humphreys put it, to the Fascist regime's official state art.¹⁵⁵

Second generation Futurism brought the figure of Victory up-to-date by transposing its mythological and historical connotations onto the aeroplane. This machine-made angel of the skies offered up a new symbol of hope to the Italian people at a time when war was ensuing. In his book *Literatur und Aviatik-Europäische Flugdichtung 1909-1927* Félix-Philipp Ingold makes clear that the origins of the theme of aviation took a hold on artists' imaginations some time much earlier.¹⁵⁶ The science fiction of Jules Verne and Méliès had already roused an interest in flight between 1890 and 1939, and this excitement was consistently sustained by reports of the aerial feats of pilots such as Santos Dumont, Blérot, Roland Garros, Von Richthofen, Guynemer, Lindberg, Mermovz, and others. What is more, as Gladys C. Fabre has pointed out, interest was sparked by the rapid technological progress of the industry itself. Aviation was quintessentially modern - no former age could boast the 'conquest of the air.'¹⁵⁷ The aeroplane was an identifiable symbol of modernity, it was an invention which offered a tangible break with the past - humankind now able to fly

¹⁵³ Tear-sheets, Krazy Kat Archive (Victoria and Albert Museum). Reference: AAD/1985/3/2/4.

¹⁵⁴ Günter Berghaus. 1996. *Fascism and Theatre: Comparative Studies on the Aesthetics and Politics of Performance in Europe, 1925-1945* (Providence, R.I.: Berghahn Books).

¹⁵⁵ Richard Humphreys. 1999. *Movements in Modern Art: Futurism* (Tate publishing), p.13. The Florence group resented the dominance of Marinetti and Boccioni, whom they accused of trying to establish 'an immobile church with an infallible creed,' and each group dismissed the other as *passéiste*. Futurism lost much of its coherence by 1916.

¹⁵⁶ Félix-Philipp Ingold. 1978. *Literatur und Aviatik: europäische Flugdichtung 1909-1927: mit einem Exkurs über die Flugidee in der modernen Malerei und Architektur* (Birkhäuser).

¹⁵⁷ 'Conquest of the Air' was the name of a 1936 film by director Alexander Esway which captured the pioneering spirit of aviation.

– it defied the laws of reason and opened up new frontiers with its daring genius. The subject of aviation held particular attraction to artist pioneers because of its being dangerously daring, providing a modern counterpart to classical and more recent heroic achievements. Braque, for instance, was referred to by Picasso as ‘Wilbourg’ after Wilber Wright, one of the American brothers to have made a successful powered flight in 1903. The theme of the airplane attracted Kafka’s attention as early as 1909, and also appeared in Marinetti’s *Futurist Manifesto* of 1909.¹⁵⁸ Delaunay made a series *Homage to Bleriot* (1913-14) after France’s own pioneering aviator who flew the Channel in 1909, and Roger de la Fresnaye painted *Portrait of Guynemer* in 1922. Modern poets from Italian Futurists Marinetti and Buzzi to Rilke, Apollinaire, Cendrars and Cocteau all exploited the theme because of its fertile and suggestive possibilities.¹⁵⁹ Indeed, the Futurist painter Giacomo Balla even named his daughter ‘Elica,’ which translated means ‘propeller,’ out of admiration for man’s flying invention.¹⁶⁰

1.10 Flying Victories

With my infatuation with aeroplanes, it was marvellous to see wonderful Italian aeroplanes flying low over our lands and finally to go to the local military aerodrome and pat these creatures on their sides and to catch a glimpse in the hangers of stripped-down aircraft and their engines, an intoxicating experience for a boy whose main leisure had been drawing and making models of these very same creatures...

(Eduardo Paolozzi. 1988. ‘Wonderful World’ reprinted in Robin Spencer. 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi: Writings and Interviews*, Oxford University Press, p.57)

Paolozzi’s interest in the aeroplane extended beyond boyish fascination, as a theme he reused it persistently in his work throughout his long career.¹⁶¹ His first ‘sculpture’ made in his early teens, now exhibited in a recreation of the artist’s studio at the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art in Edinburgh, was a hand-

¹⁵⁸ Franz Kafka. September 1909. “The Aeroplanes At Brescia” (“Die Aeroplane in Brescia”) published in the newspaper *Bohemia*. It describes an airshow in the Italian town Brescia, which Kafka saw with two of his friends (Max and his brother Otto Brod) during their journey to Italy. Among other participants, they saw Louis Blériot, the aviator famous for the first flight across the English Channel. The story is lively and witty, as Kafka was fascinated by the airshow. It is also the first description of aeroplanes in German literature.

¹⁵⁹ Gladys C. Fabre (ed.). 1979. *Léger et l'Esprit Moderne 1918-1931*, exhibition catalogue (Fine Arts Museum, Houston, États-Unis), pp.12-14.

¹⁶⁰ Enrico Crispolti. 1986. *IL futurismo e la mob: Balla egli altri* (Venice), p.iii.

¹⁶¹ This statement is supported by the plethora of works and ephemera Paolozzi collected and produced some of which can be viewed in the Krazy Kat Archive at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

carved aeroplane propeller.¹⁶² Designed for practical use, this object now incorporated into the world of 'art,' is a majestic work of craftsmanship. Paolozzi's *Krazy Kat Archive*, which comprises of an assortment of 'found' objects and ephemera collected by the artist over the course of his life, contains 117 catalogued items relating to flight.¹⁶³ The collection was named by the artist after his favourite American cartoon character created by George Herriman, which appeared in newspapers between 1914 and 1944. Amongst the plethora of items thematically linked with aviation, now housed at the Victoria and Albert Museum are a box kit of a T-28D Fighter Bomber, 1930s and 40s editions of *Aeroplane Monthly* which detail predominantly military aeroplanes, a 1937 edition of *L'Aquilone*, which was an Italian state-initiated magazine intended to spark young people's interest in flying, and *Pattuglia-X*, a journal documenting Italy's *Pattuglia Acrobatica Nazionale* (Italian Aerobatic Display Team). What is more, amidst an un-catalogued mass of tear-sheets profiling vintage aeroplanes and a large collection of *Fighting Planes* books, two photograph albums filled with John Players & Sons cigarette cards profiling aircraft have been collected and archived (Figure 30). One album in particular is dedicated to cards describing different models of Savoia-Marchetti manufactured aircraft.¹⁶⁴ This Italian aeronautical manufacturing company, established in 1922, was famous for developing designs of sea-planes and flying boats. Its distinctively glamorous aerodynamic designs, as Mia Fuller suggests, provided a creative catalyst for Fascist architecture, namely that of the Colonia.¹⁶⁵ Paolozzi would have been familiar with the architectural style from spending the summers between 1929 and 1939 at the Colonia Marina XXVIII Ottobre.

The theme of flight was of particular interest to Italians since the 'Italian Empire' was established by the aviators of 1911 and 1912 who dropped bombs on Libya. They were the first Europeans to use aeroplanes as instruments of war. If, in the

¹⁶² Exhibited as part of an installation of the Artist's Studio installation at the National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh.

¹⁶³ Eduardo Paolozzi's *Krazy Kat Archive* is housed at the Victoria & Albert Museum in Blythe House. It was originally catalogued by David Walker, Research Fellow at the University of St Andrews.

¹⁶⁴ Eduardo Paolozzi. c.1940-47. Collection of cigarette cards, Victoria and Albert Museum: AAD/1985/3/6/7.

¹⁶⁵ Mia Fuller (ed.). 2007. *Moderns Abroad: Architecture, Cities and Italian Imperialism* (Routledge), pp.107-137.

1910s and 1920s, the popular press ran countless articles on flight, space flight, extra-terrestrial life, eclipses and so on - stimulated, no doubt, by the first aeroplane builders, pilots and aerodynamicists - by the mid-to-late 1920s, aerial landscapes and views from the cock-pit became as Fernando Esposito put it, 'a metaphor for Fascism.'¹⁶⁶ As a movement *Aeropoesia* and, specifically for painting, *aeropittura*, merged political and artistic agendas in a bid to bring about change in Italy and across Europe.¹⁶⁷ The contents and language of *aeropittura* were not solidified by Marinetti, Balla, Enrico Prampolini, Geraldo Dottori and Mino Somenzi until they were published in the *Manifesto dell'aeropittura futurista* (Manifesto of Futurist *aeropittura*), in 1929.¹⁶⁸ The official launch of the movement took place in 1931 in Rome, with an exhibition celebrating the first transatlantic crossing. By virtue of bringing together aspects of daring, revolution, and violence in one image, *aeropittura* became the ideal vehicle for propaganda.

The aerial 'perspective' has been described by Jeffrey Schnapp in metaphorical terms, as empowering the psychic 'address' that Marinetti and Futurism offered to Italian Fascism.¹⁶⁹ Its practitioners, although unified in propagandist purpose, differed in modes of expression: *Umbrian Spring* (c.1924), by Geraldo Dottori, described the natural world from an aerial perspective through a configuration of abstract and rhythmical forms, whilst Tullio Crali, who was a relatively late adherent to Futurism, in 1929, painted cockpit views with a high degree of narrative objectivity. Crali's *Shaking Flight* (1939) exemplified the bravery of Italy's aviators extending Empire – it projected a vision of the machine prevailing over natural elements – and implied the possibility of divine intervention through white light interjecting in the

¹⁶⁶ Fernando Esposito. January 2012. 'In 'the shadow of the winged machine....' The Esposizione dell'aeronautica Italiana and the Ascension of Myth in the Slipstream of Modernity,' *Modernism/modernity*, Volume 19, Number 1(The Johns Hopkins University Press), p. 141.

¹⁶⁷ For a more in-depth account of *aeropittura* read *Futurism in Flight – 'Aeropittura' painting and sculptures of Man's conquest of space (1913-1945)*. 1990. Accademia Italiana della Art e delle Arti Applicate (De Luca Edizioni D'Arte, Aerialia).

¹⁶⁸ Futurist Manifestoes, ed. By Kim Scarborough. 2002. original primary texts brought together in one website (retrieved February 2010): <http://www.unknown.nu/futurism/>

¹⁶⁹ Jeffrey T. Schnapp (Jeffrey Thompson), 'Between Fascism and Democracy: Gaetano Ciocca -- Builder, Inventor, Farmer, Engineer,' *Modernism/modernity* - Volume 2, Number 3, September 1995, pp. 117-157.

top right of the composition. More than any other of the Futurists, it was Fortunato Depero who successfully reconciled Futurism with Fascist ideals. Depero's *Neighing at Speed* (1932) displays the horse and rider with graphic precision anticipating Fascism's victorious advancement. Together with Balla, he wrote *Ricostruzione futurista dell'universo* (The Futurist Reconstruction of the Universe) first published in 1915, which expanded upon the founding Futurist principles. It introduced an interest in using varied materials – wire, cardboard, paper – that prefigured the *faktura* of Soviet Constructivism and, as Günter Berghaus has commented 'revelled in the nihilism that anticipated Berlin Dadaism.'¹⁷⁰ Depero submitted two frescoes *Steel* and *Turbines* to be shown at the *Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution of Murals* held in Genoa in 1934. They were a perfect illustration of the fiery remarks made by Marinetti in connection with the exhibitions: 'The age of the inert spectator and the visionary pessimist is over,' he proclaimed, 'we must build a new Italy.'¹⁷¹

Paolozzi's 1940s scrapbooks reveal the artist bringing together cut-and-pasted imagery of aeroplanes with a range of imagery related to war, sex, violence, youth and athleticism which resonate closely with Futurist and propagandist imagery of aeroplanes in 1930s Italian culture. Some of the images Paolozzi has selected have been clipped wholesale from the *Encyclopaedia of Aviation* - for example, a diagrammatic illustration of the German Focke-Wulf 190, - whilst others, such as an image of a Hawker Fighter Aircraft (known as the 'Hurricane' owing to its distinguished performance in the Battle of Britain),¹⁷² have been pitted against line drawings made by the artist mimicking the plane's aerodynamic contours and spinning propeller (Figure 31).¹⁷³ Other images selected by the artist have been pasted next to captions describing specific historic events, for example, a photograph of a Farman F 223-1 has been positioned next to a news clipping detailing how the monoplane carried three aviators from Marseilles to Buenos Aires

¹⁷⁰ Günter Berghaus. 2000. *International Futurism in the Arts and Literature* (Walter de Gruyter), p.367.

¹⁷¹ F.T. Marinetti reprinted in Poggi 2010, p.24.

¹⁷² *Encyclopaedia of Aviation*. 1938 (Rome), Krazy Kat Archive (Victoria and Albert Museum). Reference: AAD/1985/3/2/1/1

¹⁷³ Eduardo Paolozzi. c.1940-1960. Buff coloured Scrapbook entitled 'People of China'. Reference: AAD/1985/3/6/5, London.

in 1937, a Savoia-Marchetti 81 Bomber (distinguished by its distinctive black St. Andrew's cross) has been captured during a raid in the Spanish Civil War, and an aerial photograph of wrecked Japanese planes have been recorded during the Battle of Tinian in 1944.¹⁷⁴ Many of the images Paolozzi selected of aircraft relate to warfare, either to specific episodes of conflict, or more generally reflect on WWII.¹⁷⁵ One page in an early scrapbook brings together an image of a Curtis S. A. 25- Hell Diver with a T-34 Army Tank and a photograph of soldiers donning camouflage uniforms (Figure 32).¹⁷⁶

Paolozzi conflates immediate reflections on recent wartime violence with images of more ancient combats, choosing, for example, to juxtapose an image of an Italian Airship containing World War II soldiers with a painting of medieval battle. Making a comparison between conflicts from different eras, we can infer that Paolozzi – by way of Ozenfant – is suggesting the impulse toward aggression to be timeless, innate to the human condition. Works like *Locked Corsetts* (1947), a collage which Paolozzi extracted from his scrapbooks to be displayed as a standalone work, alludes to the aeroplane's identity within Italian Fascist discourse as macho-phallic interloper (Figure 33).¹⁷⁷ The collage describes two alluring scantily-clad women in corsets surrounded by an aeroplane's propeller and a collection of machine detritus. When interpreted within its context in the composition, the propeller takes on more than one meaning; it encourages comparison with aviation's dynamic up thrust, an erect phallus and connotes weaponry. The juxtaposition of the propeller with sexually available women further implies that Paolozzi's notions of femininity were non-progressive, perhaps even misogynistic. Chauvinistic attitudes toward women were not uncommon in post-war society, but Paolozzi's suggestive insertion of the threatening propeller encourages the work to be interpreted against a backdrop of

¹⁷⁴ Ibid

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Peter Nicholls extrapolates further on the gendered language of Futurism in 'Futurism Gender and Theories of Post-modernity,' *Textual Practice*, vol.3, no.2.

Italian Fascist values.¹⁷⁸ Under Mussolini women were encouraged in the roles of mother and child bearer in order to fulfil Italy's ambitions of Empire.¹⁷⁹ For this very reason, Fascist art sought to reinforce gender difference: if the male Fascist elite were to demonstrate obedience to the regime through their athleticism and battle prowess, depictions of women were conversely fleshy and erotic, asserting their fertility or ability to titillate.¹⁸⁰ When *Locked Corsetts* is interpreted in relation to Fascist conventions, it is possible to read the propeller and assorted machine parts as assertions of a male presence – simultaneously asserting sexual and warfare violence – intent on the conquering of territory.¹⁸¹

The Italian Fascists did not only want to benefit from the popularity of aviation, of its esteemed image as a 'modern wonder,' they wanted to harness what Enrico Crispolti calls its 'cosmic' qualities offering the regime limitless power and an active mythology to replace the country's religion.¹⁸² In the *Manifesto of Futurist Sacred Art*, published in the *Gazzetta del Popolo*, 23rd June 1931, Marinetti extols Futurist aeropainters for their ability 'to express in plastic terms the abyssal charm and heavenly transparencies of infinity.'¹⁸³ Enrico Prampolini, in *Artecrazia*, July 1932 also expressed that he saw *aeropittura* as having 'broken totally through the boundaries of earthly reality.' Man's ability to fly, as Marinetti foresaw in *The New Religion-Morality of Speed* (1916), brought him closer to equality with God. Aviation answered utopian longings which had formerly been relegated to realms of fantasy: imagery of wings, flight, air and ethereal heights had now become a reality because of advances in science and technology. By conquering gravity and the elements, man's deep rooted aspiration for spiritual elevation and for fulfilling his longing for the Absolute seemed more tangible. The *Esposizione dell'aeronautica Italiana* (1934)

¹⁷⁸For further reading regarding gender divisions of labour read Perry Wilson. 1996. *Women in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany: Comparisons and Contrasts*, ed. Richard Bessel (Cambridge University Press).

¹⁷⁹ Martin Durham. 1998. *Women and Fascism*, Routledge (London & New York), p. 10.

¹⁸⁰ Steven Heller. 2008. *Iron Fists – Branding the 20th Century Totalitarian State* (Phaidon Press Ltd), p.110.

¹⁸¹ For an in-depth survey of the cultural context read *The Thirties - The Arts in Italy Beyond Fascism* By Paolo Rusconi, Giorgio Zanchetti, Edited by Antonello Negri, with Silvia Bignami (Giunti Editore, 2000).

¹⁸² Enrico Crispolti. 1986. *IL futurismo e la mob: Balla e gli altri* (Venice), p.46.

¹⁸³ F.T. Marinetti. 1931. *Manifesto of Futurist Sacred Art*, trans. Chris Adams
<http://www.italianfuturism.org/manifestos/manifesto-of-sacred-art-english/>.

transformed Fascism's political ideology into a popularist theatrical display. The central room, which according to the catalogue was 'the only symbolic exhibit,' exemplified the propagandist use of the aeroplane's mystical potentialities.¹⁸⁴

The *Esposizione dell'aeronautica Italiana's* (EIA) main attraction comprised a sculptural blue spiral which rose in an ever increasing vortex to the ceiling, and a winged man which surged tantalisingly up into seemingly endless space (Figure 34). The meaning conveyed by the room, reliant on Tatlin's inspirational *Monument to the Third International* (1917) for its innovation, was unequivocal, its meaning affirmed by one of D'Annunzio's poems which adorned the wall below the Icarus statue:

A limit to man's powers? No limit to power exists. A limit to courage? No limit to courage exists. A limit to hardship? No limit to hardship exists. I declare that the *ne plus ultra* is the most outrageous blasphemy [ever pronounced] against God and against man and his death was a necessary precondition for a new man to be born and a regenerated Italy to arise.¹⁸⁵

Through the installation's myriad circling energies, Fascism hoped to reawaken the Promethean spirit of the Italians and incite vigour to strive beyond preconceived boundaries and defend their country. In the adjoining room Balbo's mass flight across the Atlantic demonstrated the selfless daring expected of the nation. D'Annunzio and the EAI legitimise violence and self-sacrifice to bring about Fascism's imperial stronghold. The wounded aviator doubled up as a suffering Christ connecting death in service to the rebirth and regeneration of the sanctified nation.¹⁸⁶ Italy's Fascist exhibitions were part of a sophisticated set of cultural campaigns which, according to Igor Golomstock, enveloped every area of human activity, 'from work to leisure, politics to ethics and individual psychology, to a regime of bodily hygiene and exercise.'¹⁸⁷ Public aesthetics, driven by nationalism, as George Mosse and Emilio Gentile have made clear, transmuted Fascism's dry

¹⁸⁴ Fernando Esposito. January 2012. 'In 'the shadow of the winged machine...': The Esposizione and dell'aeronautica Italiana the Ascension of Myth in the Slipstream of Modernity,' *Modernism/modernity*, Volume 19, Number 1(The Johns Hopkins University Press), p.143.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, p.145.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, p.146.

¹⁸⁷ Igor Golomstock, trans. by Robert Chandler. 1990. *Totalitarian Art – in the Soviet Union, the Third Reich, Fascist Italy and the People's Republic of China* (Collins Harvill), p. 11.

ideology to life. Through their presentation of myths, rites and symbols – co-opted from cultural sources already established in Italian culture, – they projected a fetishized image of reality which confederated or concealed what Jeffery Schnapp has termed Fascism's unstable ideological core.¹⁸⁸

Umberto Eco wrote recently, 'contrary to common opinion, Fascism in Italy had no special philosophy...Mussolini did not have a philosophy, he had only rhetoric.'¹⁸⁹ At the time though, Walter Benjamin considered Fascist politics as having an aesthetic dimension deeply embedded in ideology. In *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, (1936), Benjamin argued that Fascism could be seen as a form of anesthetized politics which sought to overcome the socio-political conflict caused by capitalism by imposing its aestheticised ideology on its fragmented and fleeting quarters¹⁹⁰. Benjamin saw that, in Fascist culture, technology was used to enhance the symbols and *aura* of the work of art and to maintain the auratic distance between the audience and the product of Fascist aesthetic politics. Thus, in a period of modern economic and political-ideological crisis, Fascism responded by harnessing modernity to build hegemony. The process through which *aura* was reinstated, according to Benjamin, enabled aesthetics to be injected into politics, as political power aimed to become transcendent in the eye of the masses. Transcendence effectively liberated the Fascist regime from grounded democratic responsibility in the political process. What is clear, as Heller suggests, is that the outward appearance of Fascism 'gave the illusion of authority,' consistency of purpose, and of stability, which beneath its carefully controlled surface was far from being a reality.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ Explored further by Jeffrey T. Schnapp in the *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 31, No. 2, Special Issue: *The Aesthetics of Fascism* (Apr., 1996), pp. 235-24.

¹⁸⁹ Umberto Eco. 1973. 'Il Linguaggio politico,' in *Linguaggi settoriali in Italia*, ed. Gian Luigi Beccaria (Milan), p.91-106. Eco argues that rhetoric as bombast in the natural degeneration of rhetoric as an honest and productive exercise.

¹⁹⁰ Walter Benjamin trans. J.A. Underwood (1936) 2008. *Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (Penguin) and for an alternative, more up-to-date translation, see Walter Benjamin 1934. 'The work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,' in Walter Benjamin. 1970. *Illuminations* (London: Fontana/ Collins).

¹⁹¹ Steven Heller. 2008. *Iron Fists – Branding the 20th Century Totalitarian State* (Phaidon Press Ltd), p.87.

1.11 Paolozzi and Italian Fascist Propaganda and Culture

Part of the programme occurred every year would be to go to the local sports ground and do exercises; it looks impressive when there are more than 30,000 people all doing the same thing. One year we were supposed to perform an enormous gymnastic thing in front of Mussolini, but for all kinds of reasons it was cancelled.

(Eduardo Paolozzi. 1988. 'Wonderful world' reprinted in Robin Spencer. 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi: Writings and Interviews*, Oxford University Press, p.5)

Paolozzi's exposure to Italian culture in the 1920s and 1930s coincided with the moment in history when Fascism was gaining momentum. Indeed, as you might recall from the Introduction, Paolozzi was in Rome preparing to take part in a gymnastic display for Mussolini at the time World War II broke out. His Italian immigrant family remained true to the traditions of their country and sent Paolozzi on annual trips to his homeland – both to Fascist summer camps at the Colonia Marina XXVIII Ottobre on the Adriatic Coast at Cattolica (Rimini), and on frequent trips to visit his wider family in the small village of Viticuso situated not far from Rome. Italian Fascism's monumental hard-edged aesthetics, adapted from Futurist aesthetics, appeared in anything from mass-consumer magazines, to posters, to public sculpture and architecture. Futurist sleek airbrushed figures carried the Fascist message in everything from school *Quaderni* (Italian: assignment books) to popular advertising (for example in the campaigns for National Railways or for *Esso*) to propagandist films commissioned by *L'Unione Cinematografica Educativa* or theatrical mass-spectacles like *18 BL*.¹⁹² 'Culture,' was conceived, as Jeffrey Schnapp has stated, as akin to a *laboratory* within which a new mass subject could be shaped and new forms of mass organisation tested out. Paolozzi's awareness of the politics beneath Fascism's aestheticised surface is implied by the artist's collation of images brought together within an early 1940s scrapbook entitled 'People of China.'¹⁹³ In one of the opening pages of this scrapbook, Paolozzi has selected and pasted an image of *Il Duce* depicted in militaristic uniform and wrapped in medals saluting to

¹⁹² For an expanded account of Fascist spectacle with specific examples read Jeffrey T. Schnapp.1996. *Staging Fascism: 18 BL and the Theatre of Masses for Masses* (Stanford University Press), pp.31-67.

¹⁹³ Eduardo Paolozzi. c.1940-1960. Buff coloured Scrapbook entitled 'People of China'. Reference: AAD/1985/3/6/5 (Victoria and Albert Museum).

his people. The portrait of the dictator has been surrounded by an array of separate cut-and-pasted images which appear underneath a news-printed caption reading 'Creator of Fascism' (Figure 35).

Each of the images surrounding this portrait of the dictator has been carefully chosen for its capacity to illustrate Fascism's characteristics, these include: an aerial view of a quarry being blasted for Carrara marble from which Mussolini hoped to fashion a new Rome, a vehicle bedecked in political campaigning regalia surmounted by a speaker corralling the public through his megaphone, a sample of World War II camouflage connoting Italian Fascism's interdependence on violence for its success, a pin-up female nude supporting views associated with the role of women as an object of titillation, and a factory pumping steam and smoke into the skies advocating capitalist industrialisation. Paolozzi's insertion of the strap-line 'Revolution in Russia' further asserts the artist's comparison between the rise to power of Mussolini's Fascism, and the exploits of its Bolshevik rival. When viewed in context, the saluting *il Duce* rather aptly and humorously appears to be paying homage to the naked female position on the opposite page to him. When interpreted as a group, Paolozzi's collections of images describe Fascism's dynamic industrial expansion of Italy, together with its commitment to Empire building. Historically, Mussolini gained support for his domestic achievements, which, from 1924-1939, included the reclaiming of the Pontine Marshes, increasing Italy's public transport system and lowering unemployment. Paolozzi's father, Rudolpho, was amongst many working-class supporters of the National Fascist party.¹⁹⁴

Paolozzi's use of collaged reproduction photographic material to carry messages about Fascism's characteristics, and the centrality of the image of Mussolini relate closely – both aesthetically and ideologically – to the 'high' and 'low' propaganda circulated by the regime.¹⁹⁵ The 1932 *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista* was perhaps

¹⁹⁴ Eduardo Paolozzi, 'Wonderful World,' Spencer 2000, p.25-7.

¹⁹⁵ Steven Heller surveys both 'low' and 'high' variants of Italian Fascist propaganda in *Iron Fists – Branding the 20th Century Totalitarian State* (Phaidon Press Ltd).

the most spectacular propaganda exhibition showcasing a cross-section of multi-various cutting-edge aesthetics harnessed to promote the Fascist cause in its early years (Figure 36).¹⁹⁶ Dino Alfredi, MOSTRA's organiser, with the cooperation of Luigi Freddi, Cipriano Efisio Oppo, and Enrico Prampolini appropriated artists from a cross-section of Italy's multiple aesthetic identities: Giuseppe Terragni, Adalberto Libera, Mario De Renzi and Antonio Valente representing Rationalism, Enrico Prampolini, Geraldo Dottori, Arnaldo Carpanetti representing Futurism, Mario Sironi, Achille Funi and Fabio Rambelli representing the Novecento Group, and Mino Maccari and Leo Longanesi fitting more loosely into a 'Return to Order.' In the two years it remained open, the show attracted an estimated four million visitors, including: Paul Valery, August Perret, Maurice Denis, André Gide, Le Corbusier and Paolozzi.¹⁹⁷ Gide's reaction was one of extreme hostility, whilst Le Corbusier's on the other hand, was one of extreme enthusiasm.¹⁹⁸ In what follows it will be suggested that the didactic and ritualistic imagery taken from religious art and the avant-garde techniques of defamiliarisation, shock and rupture which were used to great effect as a means of engaging and shaping the masses at MOSTRA, had a profound impact on Paolozzi's creative vision.¹⁹⁹ The exhibits' range of iconography, materials, and use of eclectic signs made a significant contribution toward the formulation of Paolozzi's visual language.

¹⁹⁶ Marla Stone.1998. *The Patron State: Culture and Politics in Fascist Italy* (Princeton University Press), pp. 227-9.

¹⁹⁷ *Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution*. 1933. catalogue, National Fascist Party, Rome. Reference: AAD/1985/3/3/755, Krazy Kat Archive (Victoria and Albert Museum), p.16.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Libero Andreotti. Feb. 1992. 'The Aesthetics of War: The Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution,' *Journal of Architectural Education* (1984-), Vol. 45, No. 2, pp. 76-86.

1.12 Fascist Spectacle: 1932 *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista*

What opened in Rome is not simply 'the exhibition' but something greater; it is 'the demonstration' of the Fascist Revolution...the show makes the Revolution plain, palpable, and intelligible, while at the same time providing proof, a definitive proof of the experiment's success, by calculation and figure. It took Fascism to revolutionise Italy in depth, before such an artistically revolutionary –and at the same time so very Italian and Fascist– idea could even be conceived.

(Margherita Sarfatti. 1932. *Introduction to MOSTRA*)²⁰⁰

MOSTRA was organised to celebrate Italian Fascism's 'achievements' in the year of its tenth anniversary. The exhibition was designed on a grand scale to rival the messianic one thousand years' Reich of Nazism and the revolutionary five-year plans of the Bolsheviks.²⁰¹ Boris Groys has suggested that state exhibitions of this nature were, an 'attempt to create a single, total visual space within which to efface the boundary separating art from life, the museum from the practical life, contemplation from action.'²⁰² For all its visually avant-garde daring, MOSTRA's propagandist intent cannot be underestimated, its bold displays, created on a monumental scale, didactically laid out a fetishized story of Italian Fascism.²⁰³ Organised chronologically, MOSTRA started with interventionism and neutrality, followed by the Great War (1915-18), the dawn of Fascism and its struggle for the salvations of the nation (1918- 22), the March on Rome (July-Nov 1922), and the regeneration of Italy created by Fascism (1922-29).²⁰⁴

The startlingly modern facade of *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista*, which was designed by Adalberto Libera in collaboration with an older more experienced architect named Mario De Renzi, perfectly articulated Mussolini's brief, which was to make 'something current, as modern and audacious as possible, without the melancholic overtones of the decorative styles of the past' (Figure 37).²⁰⁵ Its 'blood

²⁰⁰ Margherita Sarfatti reproduced in *Donatello Among the Blackshirts: History And Modernity In The Visual Culture* By Claudia Lazzaro, Roger J. Crum (Cornell University Press), p.40.

²⁰¹ Boris Groys. 2008. *Art Power*, MIT Press, Cambridge Massachusetts & London, pp.22-24.

²⁰² Ibid, p.30.

²⁰³ Kate Flint investigates the pre-existing cultural elements Italian Fascism co-opted in to fashion its fetishized. History in 'Art and the Fascist Regime in Italy,' *The Oxford Art Journal* (Oxford University Press).

²⁰⁴ *Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution*. 1933. catalogue, National Fascist Party, Rome. Reference: AAD/1985/3/3/755, Krazy Kat Archive (Victoria and Albert Museum), p.43.

²⁰⁵ Benito Mussolini reproduced in Emily Braun. 2000. *Mario Sironi and Italian Modernism – Art and Politics Under Fascism* (Cambridge University Press), p.131.

red' square buttressed by four dark burnished copper fasces rising twenty-five metres from ground level, upon which a horizontal lintel balancing the signage for the show, represented core Fascist precepts of violence and power in one compound image. Libero Andreotti, amongst other architectural historians, has suggested the weight-bearing structure was a modern reinterpretation of the triumphal arch.²⁰⁶ Given its close proximity to nearby classical ruins which were the main point of attraction for tourists to Rome, the reference of the architectural structure would have been that much more transparent. It was important for the 'New' Italy to be attributed an image separate to that of its past inheritance, whilst at the same time being aware of its history's significance. Meanwhile, the entrance's futuristic metallic surfaces, heaviness of design, and its colouration harboured menacing-undertones predictive of impending bloodshed. Ada Negri, one of the MOSTRA's many visitors, likened its facade to a 'war machine...sharp and cutting.'²⁰⁷ Libera's skill in bringing together forward-looking aesthetics embracing modernity, with backward looking aesthetics indebted to Italy's Roman past, under the unifying theme of violent nationalism made it an appropriate opener to a show whose *modus operandi* was to institute Fascism as the force which would be responsible for solving social, political, and economic distress in Italy.²⁰⁸

The fusion of paradoxical visual languages taken from outmoded media which appear in what Paolozzi called his 'museum book' series of collages created between 1943 and 1947, unify classical with mechanical imagery with scenes of violence, which, when contextualised against the artist's Italian upbringing, are suggestive of a dialogue with the aesthetics of Italian Fascist iconography. Much like his Italian artist forebears working in the 1930s and early '40s, Paolozzi recoups visual imagery from ancient Rome and Greece into his contemporary practice. The

²⁰⁶ Andreotti. Feb. 1992, p. 78, see also Bechir Kenzari. 2011. *Architecture and Violence* (Actar) and further, Medina Lasansky. 2004. *The Renaissance perfected: Architecture, Spectacle, and Tourism in Fascist Italy* (State University Pennsylvania).

²⁰⁷ Ada Negri reprinted Emily Braun. 2000. *Mario Sironi and Italian Modernism – Art and Politics Under Fascism* (Cambridge University Press), p.131.

²⁰⁸ Claudia Lazzaro and Roger J. Crum (ed.). 2005. *Donatello among the Black shirts – History and Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London) concisely explains the relationship between nationalism and violence embedded in the aesthetics of Italian Fascism.

source for the collage *Athena, Heracles and Atlas* (1945) has been recouped from an illustrated reproduction of one of the Metopes at the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (the original frieze was created in Fifth Century BC) (Figure 38). This masterpiece of the ancient world has been brought up-to-date with cut-outs of futuristic machine parts reaped from modern journals and magazines. Whilst the figures of the goddess Athena and heroic Heracles have been preserved, a malevolent-looking technological weapon has replaced the space where the figure of Atlas originally took up position. It is unclear whether Heracles is attacking the machine, or whether he is experiencing a moment of startled enlightenment beholding its presence. Whichever the intended reaction, Paolozzi conveys the machine as a weapon of violent revolutionary import with equal power to the gods. Taking his lead from Marinetti, who advocated 'ultra-violent' nationalism based on, 'the inexhaustible vitality of Italian blood,' Mussolini propagated the idea that 'anti-war propaganda is the propaganda of cowardice.'²⁰⁹ He corralled the nation into believing mechanised warfare was the only solution for Italy's problems:

I am prepared to fight anyone who tries to stop me freely criticising a cast of mind which for various reasons I consider disastrous to the national and international interests of the Proletariat [...] The cry is a word which I would never have uttered in normal times, but which today I shout out loud, at the top of my voice, with absolute sincerity and steadfast conviction, a word which is both dreadful and awesome: war!²¹⁰

By magnifying the Italian Fascists' blood and sacrifice, the regime sanctified violence for the promise of Italy's renewal, the foundation for a morally regenerated society. In accordance with the dictates of the regime the quintessential imperative of MOSTRA was to corral its spectators into a frenzy of anticipation for what the 'New' Italy offered, and urge them into action.

Paolozzi's scrapbook entitled 'People of China,' dating from the early 1940s, brings together a group of potent images which suggest the artist's awareness of Fascism's

²⁰⁹ F. T. Marinetti. 1918. Manifesto of the Italian Futurist Party (13/1/2013) <http://www.unknown.nu/futurism/>.

²¹⁰ 'Audacial' (Courage!), *Il Popolo d'Italia*, 15. Nov. 1914; reprinted in Susmel E. and D. (ed.). 1951 – 81. *Omnia Opera di Benito Mussolini* (La Fenice: Florence), vii – 5-7.

underlying *raison d'être*.²¹¹ One page brings together a three-quarter length portrait of Mussolini in military uniform next to one of Hitler donning formal Nazi attire with the strap-line 'Today's Idols – Male.'²¹² The remaining portion of the page contains an advertisement for *Kellogg's Rice Crispies* in which the cartoon characters 'Snap,' 'Crackle' and 'Pop' appear inside a T34 World War II military tank (Figure 39). When contextualised in relation to the portraits of the dictators this collection of images resonates closely with Fascism's popularised vainglorious Empire building image. They undercut the morality of heroic militant nationalism embedded at the heart of the regime.²¹³ Frederico Caprotti interprets the imagery of war propagated through Italian Fascist propaganda as expressive of the regime's attempt at seeking a resolution to its internal tensions.²¹⁴ The Fascists attempted to utilize metaphors of war in both an external and an internal sense so as to achieve the aim of appearing coherent. Falasca-Zamponi has examined the role militarism played in promoting a sense of order, highlighting the invention of the *Passo Romano*, or 'Roman Step,' for Fascist parades.²¹⁵ It was believed that through these militaristic rituals the 'new' Fascist man would be shaped, devoted to the state.

Paolozzi, as was elucidated in greater detail in the Introductory Chapter, attended one of the organizations – structured in a manner similar to the Scout movement, – aimed at creating an organised, disciplined youth society. Young boys like Paolozzi were brought into Italian Fascism as *Balilla*, and, in time, eventually became part of the *Camice Nere*, known as 'Blackshirts.'²¹⁶ These militaristic-styled camps emotively advocated an image of militaristic strength through sacrifice. These boys were being groomed to be the foot soldiers of an ever-expanding Fascist Empire. In an

²¹¹ Eduardo Paolozzi. c.1940-1950. Buff coloured Scrapbook entitled 'People of China'. Reference: AAD/1985/3/6/5, Krazy Kat Archive (Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Jeffrey T. Schnapp. 2005. 'Flash Memories,' Claudia Lazzaro and Roger J. Crum ed., *Donatello among the Black shirts – History and Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London), p.224.

²¹⁴ Frederico Caprotti. 1996. 'Italian Fascism between Ideology and Spectacle' in Barbara Spackman *Fascist Virilities: Rhetoric, Ideology, and Social Fantasy in Italy* (University of Minnesota Press), p.142.

²¹⁵ Falasca-Zamponi. 2000. *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini's Italy* (University of California Press), p.66.

²¹⁶ *Donatello among the Black*, 2005, p.23.

interview with Frank Whitford, recorded in *Cities of Childhood* (1988), Paolozzi recalled:

I had a blackshirt, sailor's hat, white trousers...you were allowed to keep the uniform. I remember too you had a shaved head. It was wonderful. When you are very young you don't articulate experience.²¹⁷

Spectacle was one of the ways that was used to impose regimentation on the boys: they took part in singing Fascist songs, youth parades wearing the symbols of Italian Fascism, and marching in step. Many of the ceremonial signs and icons Paolozzi would have been exposed to had encoded signification specific to Italian Fascism. Paolozzi fondly remembered the experience, but later admitting that he had been 'indoctrinated.'²¹⁸ Mario Sironi was one of the leading artists responsible for creating the vocabulary of signs essential to Fascism. He sought to solidify a Fascist and Italian identity by means variously identified as 'the nationalization of the masses' and 'the invention of tradition.'²¹⁹ Sironi's accomplishment, perhaps more so than any other of his artist peers, was his ability to create aesthetics of power from iconography, colours and forms, all of which were intended to seduce the general populace.

If Paolozzi was not familiar with Sironi's handiwork before his visit to *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista*, he would have been familiar with the artist's monumental iconographic style afterwards. Sironi was commissioned to design the rooms for the most important episodes in Italian Fascism's history, 'The Room of the March on Rome,' the 'Salon of Honour' and the 'Gallery of Fasci.' Before becoming Mussolini's state artist, Sironi was a political illustrator for *il Popolo d'Italia*. It was whilst working for the journal Sironi began forging his politicised and highly idiosyncratic visual language. By the late 1920s, Emily Braun considers that Sironi 'cut a singular path through the pluralistic landscape of the fine arts, breaking free

²¹⁷ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1988. 'Wonderful world', in *Cities of Childhood: Italian colonies of the 1930s* (ed.) S. de Martini and A. Wall (Architectural Association Publications), p.10.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Emily Braun. 2000. *Mario Sironi and Italian Modernism – Art and Politics Under Fascism* (Cambridge University Press), p.141.

of Sarafatti's Novecento Italiano and its incipient naturalism, the orthodoxies of Futurist *aeropittura*, and an increasingly prevalent neoclassicism.'²²⁰ Despite his protestations against the austere mechanised imagery of the 'Left,' Sironi relied on Constructivist exhibition design, originally created to break down social hierarchies, in the construction of Fascism's self-representation at the MOSTRA. 'The Room celebrating the March on Rome' was divided by the artist into two distinct narratives, the National Fascist Party Congresses prior to 28 October 1922 and the March itself. Its enormous scale, spare vocabulary and constructive elements tidily fused classical with modernist styles.²²¹

To secure nationalist interest, Sironi merged symbols of Fascism with those of the Italian nation-state; he emblazoned the victorious 'La Marcia su Roma' in white lettering with red borders, and he further configured a bas-relief of an eagle in flight and a national flag adorned with the cross of the House of Savoy within this heraldic typescript (Figure 40). If these symbols asserted the ethical virtues of Fascism independently – projecting the unity of the old and the new together – the shapes of the flag and the eagle cleverly produced a silhouette of *afascio*. The *afascio* was the founding form of Fascism. Derived from the ancient Latin 'fascēs,' which referred to the bundle of lictors, or axe-headed rods, symbolized the sovereignty and authority of the Roman Republic; it was fittingly symbolic for describing Italy's newest totalitarian incarnation.²²² On the floor below what Sironi referred to as his 'plastica murale,' the theme of violence continued with his installation of a machine-gun and a three-dimensional wall-length Roman sword engraved with words 'DUX/ITALIA,' next to which Sironi placed a shattered red chain hanging in mid-air. Through his use of spare means, Sironi made this configuration of objects demonstrate how Italy (the Roman sword), had smashed the stranglehold of

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ *Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution*. 1933. catalogue, National Fascist Party, Rome, 263 pp. Reference: AAD/1985/3/3/755, Krazy Kat Archive (Victoria and Albert Museum), p.56.

²²² From approximately the 1870s, as Stanley Payne in *Fascism: Comparison and Definition* (University of Wisconsin Press) has proved, the term *fascio* was used in Italy in the names of radical new social and political organizations, normally of the Left. Thus, the revolutionary nationalists who sought to create a new 'Left' nationalist league in 1919, in the aftermath of World War I, formed a *Fascio di Combattimento*, transformed two years later to the 'Right' into the new Fascist Party.

Socialism through its use of force. It fixed in ritual and in image the relationship between the Fascist present and the recent national past.²²³

Sironi's cryptic symbolism, derived from iconography of Roman grandeur conflated with the machine's cold hard forms, resonate strongly with Paolozzi's language of forms articulated in his early collage. *Parete con decorazioni* (1941) parallels an illustration of a soldier wearing a gasmask with images of human forms superimposed with technical elements. Paolozzi features a reproduction of a work by Sironi together with the artist's name at the base of the composition (Figure 23). The artist's assertion of imagery descriptive of warfare brought together with Sironi's modernised classicism confirms Paolozzi's awareness of Sironi's aesthetic campaign. Furthermore, it implies the artist's critical engagement with Fascist Italian art.²²⁴ *Butterfly* (1946), made by Paolozzi as part of a series whilst he was at the Slade, and configured from imposing and symmetrical mechanical detritus continues the theme of violence (Figure 41). The artist borrows images of machine parts from an engineer's patent book and re-contextualises these forms by adhering them to the surface of an illustration of an artist's bust peg. Whilst Sironi's eclectic signifiers are used to reveal dramatic and historically poignant events, Paolozzi employs his ready-made iconography to pit traditional art making techniques against the machine. The bust peg's distinctive shape – used as a support for the clay or wax that a bust is modelled from – like Sironi's paradigmatic icons, takes on more than one signification. The upright post and its shield-like wings adorned with metal pipes, cog wheels, pinions and ratchets anthropomorphises into mechanised weaponry further betraying Paolozzi's familiarity with Italian modernist tendencies. Sironi's importations of violence were not self-contained to the 'Room of the March on Rome'; the 'Salon of Honour,' which was a more contemplative room that

²²³ Stone 1998, p.332.

²²⁴ Daniel Herrman. 2005. *Echoes of Antiquity: Eduardo Paolozzi and Traditional Sources*, exhibition wall text, Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh.

allowed its visitors to 'see' the planning stages of the Fascist revolution at MOSTRA, was dominated by the accoutrements of warfare.²²⁵

An enormous statue of the warrior leader il Duce confronted the spectator on entry into the 'Salon of Honour.' Installed next to this rendition of the dictator, Sironi built a make-shift hut – constructed in the Etruscan order and camouflaged with reproductions of *Il Popolo d'Italia* – which represented a reconstruction of Mussolini's office (from 1914 until 1920). The Salon of Honour's objective was to commend Mussolini as all-powerful authoritarian consolidator, and radical revolutionary leader. Evidence of his revelry in action could be glimpsed through an aperture cut into one side of the hut where the Fascist leader's paper-covered desk was strewn with hand-grenades; a carelessly placed revolver and a black flag with a skull and cross-bones were also installed (Figure 42).²²⁶ Sironi relied as much on 'archaeological' characteristics, apprehended in the roughhewn surfaces of Mussolini's sculpted portrait and antiquated columns, as he did on elements more strictly avant-garde: the capped red wedges perched on the corners of the side entrances reminiscent of El Lissitzky's, which Andreotti has pointed out Sironi would likely have seen in Cologne.²²⁷ Through Sironi's juxtapositions of 'old' and 'new,' at once restorative and innovative, caught between conflicting urges to remember and renew the past and to build the present and future upon the past's abolition, Sironi presented a fully integrated and modernised reworking of classicism. By self-consciously modernising classical art, Sironi was making history present.²²⁸

Paolozzi similarly brings together imagery of an ethical imperative toward violence with assertions of iconography redolent of Italian nationalism. *Group of Gauls* (1947),

²²⁵ *Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution*. 1933. catalogue, National Fascist Party, Rome, 263 pp. Reference: AAD/1985/3/3/755, Krazy Kat Archive (Victoria and Albert Museum), p.111.

²²⁶ *Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution*. 1933, p.112.

²²⁷ Andreotti 1992, p.22.

²²⁸ The concept of modernising classicism is explored in the 2002 exhibition *Mario Sironi – Between Futurism and the Urban Landscape 1914 – 1920* (Estorick Collection of Modern Italian Art), by Emily Braun in *Mario Sironi and Italian Modernism – Art and Politics Under Fascism* (Cambridge University Press) and most recently in 2009 by Romy Golan in *Muralnomad: The Paradox of Wall Painting, Europe 1927 – 1957* (Yale University Press, New Haven & London).

created by the artist from an illustration of the Roman original dedicated to Attulus I at Pergamon, which has been part overlaid with mechanised imagery, describes a menacing cohort of figures in a brawl (Figure 43). The central armoured figure, with his back to the viewer – who has been imported into the scene from the machine age – wears a futuristic back-pack which appears to be connected to his bludgeon-filled hand; his arm is raised, suggesting this technologized weapon is being used to attack the other figures around him. Unlike the helmeted protagonist, the figure cowering beneath him is defenceless. Resonating strongly with Sironi's towering 'archaeological' incarnation of the dictator, Paolozzi's mysterious tyrant could be interpreted as Mussolini, the 'new' Caesar. Not content to simply move forward and show his Italian followers the route to a more prosperous life ahead, Mussolini was eager to match the successes of the Caesars of the past.²²⁹ The title of the original work further connects Paolozzi's scene of mechanised combat with the Roman's conquest of the peoples of the historic region of Western Europe during the Iron Age in 203BC. By paralleling Italy's former warfare glories with the potentialities of its future successes Paolozzi uses a similar technique to Sironi to make historical episodes relevant. Such an aestheticization of violence through technological imagery only serves to confirm Walter Benjamin's remark, that, 'imperialist [in Fascist societies] is a rebellion of technology which collects, in the form of 'human material' the claims to which society has denied its natural material. Instead of draining rivers, society directs a human stream into a bed of trenches.'²³⁰

Sironi's 'Gallery of Fasci' provided the denouement to MOSTRA, sending home the message that greater days for Italy were still to come (Figure 44).²³¹ It consisted of a long hallway bordered by two imposing and distended column-like rows of ceiling-high fasci which looked simultaneously familiar and alien, both referencing a classical colonnade and presenting an entirely 'new' experience of inhabiting shape and form. The rows of fasci created diagonal projections set against a lit background

²²⁹ Heller 2008, pp.34-7.

²³⁰ Walter Benjamin reprinted in Antliff 2007, p.74.

²³¹ *Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution*. 1933, p.223.

which, Ciucci noted, recalled Melnikov's Rusakov Club in Moscow of 1928.²³² A more immediate source, however, as Andreotti makes clear, would have been the gesture of Roman salute - like the facade, the gallery was meant to be 'a backdrop for files of saluting militiamen, the pilasters serving as powerful architectural icons for the 'New Order' of Fascism.'²³³ Sironi's architectural assembly of tectonic masses motions the spectator forward toward a monumental classical bas-relief of a horse and rider. This ritualistic procession mimics that of a spiritual pilgrimage toward the high altar. Critically, the place for a higher-order has been usurped by the prospect of a 'better' Italy soon coming into being. Paolozzi's *Southern Siphnian Frieze* (1946) (Figure 45) brings together the symbol of victory – the horse and rider – against a backdrop of Greco-Roman and futuristic detritus, further inviting comparisons between the artist's assembly of visual forms and his Italian roots. Paolozzi's divergent choice of collage materials make a more coherent statement of intention when considered against Sironi's Fascist rhetoric. The vital marriage of the antique with the dynamic, his insertions of images of violence and recycling of Greek and Roman iconographies are all repertoires of the visual campaigns present in Italian Fascist propaganda culture.²³⁴

Paolozzi's *Southern Siphnian Frieze* collage describes two separate but co-dependent images. The first image, which dominates the composition, is an illustration of horse-drawn chariots taken from reproductions of the Parthenon's panels on the south-facing side of the Siphnian treasury. According to Classical scholars these panels articulate specific narratives: ²³⁵ the 'top' panel represents the Greek god Hera marshalling a chariot which historically followed on from Athena's and Aphrodite's

²³² David Rifkind.2007. *The Battle for Modernism: Quadrante and the Politicization of Architectural Discourse in Fascist Italy* (Florida International University), p.14.

²³³ Marla Stone, *The Patron State – Culture & Politics in Fascist Italy*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1998, p.150

²³⁴ It is important to note, whilst this analysis is of the iconographies present in Italian Fascist propaganda, this in no way implies Paolozzi was an unthinking adherent to Italian Fascist ideals and politics and can only be seen to endorse his exposure to the visual culture of the period. The primary intention of assessing the artist's compendium of visual sources are to better understand his creative practice, not to attempt to isolate the artist's political sympathies at any one time.

²³⁵ Martin Robertson, *A Shorter History of Greek Art*, Cambridge University Press. The treasury had four friezes; one on each of its sides. The east frieze portrayed the gods watching the Trojan War, the southern frieze portrayed the rape of Leukippidai and the north frieze depicted gigantomachy, all created c.525 BC.

chariots (but sequentially appeared earlier in the frieze), and the 'bottom' panel depicts a part of the story of the Judgment of Paris. Both panels have been overlaid with a range of twentieth century imagery, including an automobile's body-work, diagrams reaped from science textbooks, cross-sections of materials from engineering manuals, and a reproduction of a photograph describing two soldiers wielding a field-gun all lifted from miscellaneous sources. The artist's presentation of this series of signifiers is highly cryptic unless interpreted within the context of Italian Fascist culture. The insertion of the name of the artist Mario Sironi acts as a key for better determining the ideology 'behind' Paolozzi's seemingly incompatible composition of forms. Without an understanding and appreciation of the specificity of its historical context, it would be possible to fall in with the recommended interpretation of Paolozzi's work as an invention of whimsy, with no more intent than a Surrealist fantasy. However, Paolozzi mimics Sironi's 'Gallery of Fasci' in thematic content as well as in visual vocabulary: the modernisation of *Latinita* and use of horse and rider symbolically invoking victory are used to great effect in *Southern Siphnian Frieze*.²³⁶ These signs, when combined, project an ethical paradigm mirroring Sironi's intent to justify self-sacrifice through military service for the dawn of a 'new' world coming-into-being. Here, the glorious conquests of the Greek past are reconciled with the imminent victories of Italy's mechanised future.

²³⁶Penelope Curtis (ed.). 2003. *Sculpture from Fascist Italy* (Henry Moore Institute in association with MART) identifies key themes in Italian Fascist sculpture, in particular the theme of Victory and illustrates exemplary examples.

1.13 Preserving National Interest

Futurist or traditionalist, 'young' or not young, the first condition from now on should be to require that artists be openly and unequivocally Italian – a quality that carries with it humanity and health.

(Architect and Critic Giuseppe Pensabene. 1935. Reprinted in Marla Stone.1998. *The Patron State: Culture and Politics in Fascist Italy*, Princeton University Press, pp. 227-9.)

Sironi was not, of course, the only artist in 1930s Italy fusing dynamic iconographies with dead artistic languages. It was popular amongst artists of the time to communicate something Italian to their audience, to encourage nationalistic fervour, and to accomplish this by looking both backwards – to fabricate a legitimate heritage for Mussolini's 'new' Italy – and forwards – to encourage through nationalism a vision of a better future. Italian sculptor Mario Marini, whose career rose to prominence in the 1930s, perfectly expressed the paradoxical push-and-pull of artistic identity: his work stood between progress and recession and incited a dialogue between Classicism and Modernism. *The Pilgrim* (1939), which was on display in Milan and Rome in the 1931 *Triennale*, represents a young man on horseback journeying forth to defend his country (Figure 46).²³⁷ Marini's equestrian statue, whilst firmly embedded in longstanding art historical discourse, also projects a forward-facing image of nationalistic victory. For Marini, as Emily Braun has rightly pointed out, going back in time did not necessarily mean a revival of historical styles per se, but rather a return to primordial form.²³⁸ The sculpture is well-proportioned, the limbs relatively slender, and both horse and rider are poised, formal, and calm; reflective of a worldview where man, not machine, is at its centre. Its surfaces are polished but not machine-honed like those favoured by his Futurist and Rationalist contemporaries. Marini reconciles the classical traditions of order

²³⁷ Although we cannot be assured of Paolozzi's knowledge of Marini's work until post-war when the Italian sculptor was exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in London, Marini won first prize at the second *Rome Quadrennial* in 1935 whilst Paolozzi had visited his family near the capital.

²³⁸ Emily Braun. 2000. *Mario Sironi and Italian Modernism – Art and Politics Under Fascism* (Cambridge University Press), p.67.

and beauty with the aspiration for an art – and consequently society – to be ordered, geometrical and pure.²³⁹

Giorgio de Chirico was another Italian artist fascinated with modernising the paraphernalia of ancient Greece and Rome. *Horses on the Shore* (1942), which Paolozzi saw when it was exhibited at The London Gallery, in 1943, describes horses surrounded by classical columns and other Roman architectural ruins within a fantastical wasteland (Figure 46). Paolozzi's keenness on de Chirico is made obvious from the numerous reproductions which the artist has selected and archived. De Chirico chose to pastiche classical artefacts, and to explore the possibilities of bringing together classical with contemporary objects. The effects of estrangement that he created by bringing together seemingly antithetical objects had originally brought him into the Surrealist's circle. However, his relationship with the group ceased when he admitted to being 'a classical painter' in 'The Return to Craft,' which appeared in *Valori Plastici* in 1919.²⁴⁰ Roger Cardinal has chosen to view the artist's statement as an unmasking of his true allegiances.²⁴¹ It is a compelling reading considering de Chirico's insistence on recuperating relics of Imperialism which have nationalistic undertones. It is possible, when interpreting his works in this way, to read parallels between de Chirico's 1930s works and Paolozzi's early collage. As much a member of the Italian 1930s scene, as he was ever Surrealist, de Chirico, like Paolozzi, created a progressive art which spoke of the age whilst retaining the artist's cultural roots.

Paolozzi's selection of subject for *Standing Horse* (1946) sits comfortably alongside Marini's *The Pilgrim* and de Chirico's equestrian-themed *Horses on the Shore* (Figure 47).²⁴² Paolozzi modernises a reproduction of an unidentified ancient Greek

²³⁹ The relationship between Fascist aesthetics and societal order is explored in Andrew Hewitt.1993. *Fascist Modernism – Aesthetics, Politics, and the Avant-Garde* (Stanford University Press, California).

²⁴⁰ Which was a Rome-based art magazine. It was supportive of the 'Return to Order'.

²⁴¹ Roger Cardinal.2004. 'Giorgio de Chirico and surrealist mythology' in *Giorgio de Chirico et le mythe grec* (Turin and London, 1995), p.1.

²⁴² Horses painted by de Chirico have been cut and pasted into a undated Scrapbook of Modern Art by Paolozzi, now housed in the Krazy Kat Archive. Reference: AAD/1985/3/2/5 (Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

equestrian statue by adhering a network of cogs lined with teeth, sprockets and projections – like moving pistons – reaped from engineering magazines onto the ‘inside’ of the horse’s belly (Figure 48). Paolozzi’s mechanical additions metamorphose the Greco-Roman sculpture into a fantastical robotic armament. We anticipate this beast, half-animal, half-machine to harnessing its newly affixed kinetic energies so as to cantor forward. It is as if Paolozzi has innovated, albeit on paper, a robotic horse. Whilst its polished marble surfaces take on the appearance of gun metal, invoking comparison with Marini’s purification of archaeological form, its quality of whimsy more readily connects Paolozzi’s *Standing Horse* with de Chirico’s desire for an element of surprise. His fusion aesthetic, which moves between an Italian Modernist aesthetic and a Surrealist idiom much like de Chirico, confirms Günter Berghaus’s theory about the avant-garde cross-fertilising.²⁴³ The artist’s innovative reinvention of the Trojan horse asserts symbolism of victory, technological progress, and violence in one compound image echoing aspects of Italian Fascism’s aspiring spirit captured by contemporaneous artists Marini and De Chirico.

Mussolini’s apparently relaxed attitude to the arts for the first decade of Fascism’s coming to power belied his self-interested motivations, by using art as a flexible tool to accommodate all of its personalities, he could get the whole nation’s support. In a 1932 article published on the *Enciclopedia Italiana* under Mussolini’s name but written by various pro-Fascist philosophers, a totalizing view of the nation was crystallized in the statement that ‘outside the State there can be neither individuals nor groups.’²⁴⁴ There was a general understanding amongst artists that they were vehicles for a ‘higher’ purpose. In his ‘Manifesto of Mural Painting,’ which first appeared in January 1932 in his regular column in *il Popolo d’Italia* (and which was promptly reprinted in three more periodicals, the *Corriere Padano*, *L’Arca*, *Domus* and

²⁴³ Berghaus 2009, p.323.

²⁴⁴ Benito Mussolini. 1932. *Enciclopedia Italiana* reprinted in *Futurism an Anthology* ed. Lawrence Rainey, Christine Poggi, Laura Wittman (Yale University Press) 2009, p.77.

in *The Column* in December 1933, where it was signed by Campigli, Carra and Rope), Sironi outlines those imperatives bestowed on artists under Fascism:

A moral question arises for every artist. The artist must renounce this egocentricity which from now on can only sterilise his spirit, and become a 'militant' artist who serves a moral ideal, subordinating his own individuality to collective work.²⁴⁵

Sironi's Manifesto went on to legitimise the use of mural painting by positioning it within a tradition that went back to the early renaissance fresco and, more significantly, to the Byzantine mosaic and Pompeian wall painting. He expressed his conviction that the mural was the only true Mediterranean voice which was 'consistent with the spirit of the Revolution,' and which could capture the 'Fascist style' of being 'both old and new at one time.'²⁴⁶

The idea of subordinating individualistic concerns to the broader demands of their context was a common theme in Europe and America during the 1930s.²⁴⁷ Campaigns, most particularly of those murals promoting the Fascist way of life in Italy in the 1930s, were being used heavily in this period across Europe and Russia, a celebrated example being El Lissitzky's imposing work for the Soviet pavilion at Pressa (1928).²⁴⁸ These murals were more widely associated with the international 'synthesis of the arts' movement that arose in the years straddling WWII. This aesthetic campaign, based on the belief that hybridism and flux were essential components of modernity, urged artists to eschew immovable works in favour of portable large-scale paintings, photo panels and tapestries. The goal was to animate architectural spaces and thus — in the words of the movement's principal advocate, Le Corbusier — 'blow up the walls that bother us.'²⁴⁹ This new wall-borne art eschewed convention because it directly communicated the immediate and required

²⁴⁵ Mario Sironi. Jan. 1932. *il Popolo d'Italia* reprinted in Braun 2000, p.56.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ The form that mural painting would take was a hotly contested issue in Italy during this time. Sironi contrasted the *Latinita* as an art form, as Romy Golan has rightly pointed out, as antithetical to the 'repressed' and 'puritan' architectural severity of the Protestant North. He endeavoured to disassociate his mural painting from that of Leger's, and from the machine aesthetics of the Werkbund and the Bauhaus associated with the 'Left.'

²⁴⁸ Kenneth Frampton. 1992. *Modern Architecture A Critical History* (Thames & Hudson), p.29.

²⁴⁹ Romy Golan. 2009. *Muralnomad: The Paradox of Wall Painting, Europe 1927 – 1957* (Yale University Press, New Haven & London), pp. 100-1.

no specialist knowledge for its interpretation. It was the photomurals ability to 'speak' to the man on the street, to cut across societal hierarchies and educational difference which made them the ideal vehicle for propaganda.

Its potential to serve authoritarian state goals was appropriated relatively quickly by Italian Fascist, Nazi and Communist regimes. When the Italian Fascist regime became increasingly committed to opening up working class audiences to official art exhibitions in order to gain their support, the photomural became an ideal mode of engaging with these audiences. Indeed, the photomural became so heavily used by the Italians that by 1935, as Romy Golan has pointed out, critics were already complaining of 'photomural fatigue.'²⁵⁰ Reviewing the 'Mostra dell Sport Italiano' for Picacentini's *Architettura*, one of them complained: 'the whole thing has been reduced to a mere exhibition of sports photographs. We have become saturated now with such exhibitions; it is time to fight the *fotomosaico*.'²⁵¹ Between 1930 and 1936 the Italian Fascist administration added a series of diverse attractions to its fine arts agenda to gather allies from across the classes: the film festival, music festival, drama festival, poetry competition, and the introduction of the decorative and public arts all represented challenges to dominant notions of high culture. By 1936 the Venice Biennale became a cornucopia of forms and entertainments, offering cultural diversions as diverse as Mickey Mouse cartoons, Carlo Goldoni, and Venini vases. Much of the pushing of the social composition of culture involved what Marla Stone has described as, 'shifting the viewing gaze and bringing the spectator's gaze in-line with a new set of cultural imperatives.'²⁵² Some of these new imperatives were particular to Fascism, while others were the product of a general 1930s Western turn to cultural popularism.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Unknown author reproduced in Ibid, p.102.

²⁵² Stone 1998, p. 172.

1.14 Collage: a Medium with Political Intent

Photomontage can be seen both to accept and challenge the received understanding of photography as something transparent. From one point of view, it can be interpreted as a deviation from the essentially transparent and unified nature of photography. On the other hand, photomontage can be seen not as deviating from photography's true nature as a transparent medium but as exemplifying its irreducible hypermediacy. This latter interpretation of the photographic medium has been advanced by W. J. T. Mitchell in the idea of the 'image text.'²⁵³ Giuseppe Terragni's 'Room of 1922' which Paolozzi would have seen at the 1932 *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista*, was an enormous photo-collage which used extremely experimental techniques for propaganda purposes.²⁵⁴ Terragni's 'Room of 1922' narrated the most exciting episode of Fascism's coming to power (Figure 49). The room contained a giant installation compiled of multi-varied, layered elements projecting a frenetic mass of interconnecting photomontages narrating the turbulent period of mounting chaos prior to Fascist take-over. The themes in Terragni's room ranged from the continued martyrdoms of Fascist squad members, to accelerating parliamentary crises, to the birth of the first Fascist para-state organizations.²⁵⁵ Each individual element of his complex montage made a valuable contribution toward revealing the core narrative of the whole: photographic depictions of Mussolini and other generals, relevant news printed articles, and a huge crowd which merged into a field of hands offering allegiance to their great leader.²⁵⁶

²⁵³ W. J. T. Mitchell 1994, p.21.

²⁵⁴ *Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution*. 1933, p.121. For an in-depth analysis of Terragni's forms and materials read Jeffrey T Schnapp. Winter 2004. 'The Monument without Style (On the Hundredth Anniversary of Giuseppe Terragni's Birth),' *Grey Room*, No. 18.

²⁵⁵ Marla Stone. Apr., 1993. 'Staging Fascism: The Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution,' *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 28, No. 2, p. 221. Although Terragni was a member of the Fascist Party, the other leading figures in the Rationalist Movement, E. Persico and G. Pagano, were intransigent anti-fascists who formed a truly alternative instrument of culture from the official one of the regime through *Casabella* in the 1930s.

²⁵⁶ Dawn Ades, Tim Benton, David Elliot and Iain Boyd Whyte. 1995. eds., *Art and Power: Europe under the Dictators, 1930 – 45*, exh. cat (London: Hayward Gallery/South Bank Centre), p.132.

Terragni's novelty and originality meant that he was often ostracized by official critics.²⁵⁷ Terragni saw no conflict of interest in borrowing photomontage techniques from German Dadaism and Russian Constructivism to celebrate the Fascist Revolution.²⁵⁸ Within his 'Room of 1922,' the seas of raised hands, mimicking the Roman salute, were reminiscent of agitational techniques used by Gustav Klutsis. The overall design of the diagonal screen has been likened to Le Corbusier's *Nestle Pavilione* (1928), and the giant 'X' silhouetted against the lit ceiling – which allude to the cross of St. Andrew – recalls Konstantin Melnikov's *USSR Pavilion* (1925). What is more, the room's three spiralling turbines, which cross the space from the lower right to left – also considered foreign imports- have been attributed to Le Corbusier's *L'Art Decorative d'aujourd'hui* (1925), which contained a similar image.²⁵⁹ Terragni's innovatory cutting-edge photomontage technique – existing somewhere between Constructivism and Surrealism – combining an ability to convey messages with strong architectural composition go some way toward explaining Paolozzi's own use of the medium.

Paolozzi's *Lessons of the Last Time* (1947) brings together imagery, text and visual symbols using a Constructivist lexicon in a similar way to how Terragni configures his abstract and layered compositional materials (Figure 50). This particular montage conflates various cut-and-pasted paper ephemera which contain images and excerpts from magazines to project a meditation on Italy's Empire building. The collage is dominated by a journal clipping depicting 'Dr. Freud taking his first flight at seventy,' an instruction guide for the storage of fuel injection pumps, and an article outlining 'Einstein's Story.' These larger images – propagating an enthusiastic view of advances in science and technology – are juxtaposed with smaller illustrations reaped from science textbooks: one diagram details the human brain, whilst another technical drawing describes a primitive transistor. By placing

²⁵⁷ Two 1940s copies of *Casabella* magazine are held in Paolozzi's Krazy Kat Archive in the Victoria & Albert Museum.

²⁵⁸ Jeffrey T. Schnapp. Winter 2004. 'The Monument without Style (On the Hundredth Anniversary of Giuseppe Terragni's Birth),' *Grey Room*, No. 18, .25.

²⁵⁹ For a more in-depth analysis of Terragni's architectural iconography read Thomas L. Schumacher. 1991. *Surface & Symbol: Giuseppe Terragni and the Architecture of Italian Rationalism* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press).

these images next to one another, Paolozzi suggestively implies – in keeping with trends being explored by Freud in his theories on the perception of the human mind – that the machine age is making changes within the human psyche. Marinetti apprehended the impact of technology on Man's consciousness as early as 1913 in his Manifesto, *Destruction of Syntax/Imagination without strings/Words in Freedom*.²⁶⁰

Futurism is grounded in the complete renewal of human sensibility brought about by the great discoveries of science. Those people who today make use of the telegraph, the telephone, the phonograph, the train, the bicycle, the motorcycle, the automobile, the ocean liner, the dirigible, the aeroplane, the cinema, the great newspaper (synthesis of a day in the world's life) do not realize that these various means of communication, transportation and information have a decisive influence on their psyches.²⁶¹

The transformative effects the machine had on humankind were of interest to both the Russian Constructivists and Surrealists.²⁶² Paolozzi's inclusions of mechanical imagery making up the 'top' layer of *Lessons of the Last Time* are, however, projected over an assertively Italian backdrop. In what can be read from the article underneath his selection of machine age inventions, the story of the Italian take-over of the Free State of Fiume is relayed. Historically, the question of the status of Fiume had been a major international problem since the end of World War I. With the demise of Austria-Hungary, Gabriele D'Annunzio foreshadowed Fascist action when he took Fiume on 12th September 1919; after which the city port was occupied by French, English and American troops before the Italians, in their first *coup d'état*, claimed the territory on 3rd March 1922.²⁶³ By placing images of new technologies and scientific discoveries *on top* of a document describing Italy's victorious battle prowess Paolozzi, suggestively comments on Marinetti and Mussolini's propaganda, in particular their belief that struggle through warfare was necessary for the development of a vital technologically advanced world. When the title and date of the work are taken into consideration, the conclusions of Paolozzi's position remain at best ambivalent.

²⁶⁰ Tim Armstrong.2005. *Modernism: A Cultural History* (Polity Press), p.94.

²⁶¹ F. T. Marinetti.1914. *The Futurist Sensibility* (21.12.11) <http://www.unknown.nu/futurism/destruction.html>.

²⁶² This theme will be explored in greater detail in the chapter 2.

²⁶³ The legal government headed by Riccardo Zanella escaped to Kraljevica.

The subject content captured within the magazine fragments of *Lessons of the Last Time* are considered in relation to their inherent materiality, the layout and layering of these 'found' paper parts are as significant to the message conveyed by the collage as the text. Each element of the composition, much like Terragni's collage technique, acts as a signifier contributing to a holistic meaning. Terragni's transparent materials in 'The Room of 1922,' located in utopian modernist ideals, were given ultimate expression a few years later at the *Casa del Fascio* (1936).²⁶⁴ This International Style building, indebted to Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius for its seizure of material properties to project meaning and elucidate political intent, made the artist's ambitions very clear; to bring together 'two aspects of a new order: art and politics.'²⁶⁵ The see-through quality Terragni used in *Casa del Fascio* and in 'Room of 1922,' were employed to present a political ethics of complete visibility between the machinery of government and the everyday person, so 'no obstruction, no barrier, no obstacle between the political leader and the people' could be witnessed. Materiality or more accurately its inverse, immateriality, chimed with Mussolini's ethical conception of Fascism as 'a glass house in which everyone can see,' asserting a move against corruption.²⁶⁶ Lawrence Alloway was quick to recognise that the mode Paolozzi used to convey his messages was significant.²⁶⁷ In his 1958 essay 'The Arts and the Mass Media', Alloway laid out reasons for employing reproduction mechanised imagery.²⁶⁸ Alloway determined this new way of making art to be a way of replacing conventional techniques of the academically

²⁶⁴ Thomas L. Schumacher. 1991. *Surface & Symbol: Giuseppe Terragni and the Architecture of Italian Rationalism* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press), p.32-4.

²⁶⁵ Giorgio Ciucci. 1996. *Giuseppe Terragni Opera complete* (Milan: Casa Editrice Electa), p.23 Ciucci's chapter on La Casa del Fascio is very interesting in that it relies on primary sources in explaining and analyzing the huge controversy that surrounded La Casa del Fascio. The debates are very important in illustrating the conflict between the ideologically opposite art movements (the neoclassicists and the modernists).

²⁶⁶ Benito Mussolini reprinted in Thomas L. Schumacher. 1991. *Surface & Symbol: Giuseppe Terragni and the Architecture of Italian Rationalism* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press), p.12 Schumacher's book is helpful in tracing Terragni's architectural evolution. However most importantly, on his chapter on La Casa del Fascio, the author is very successful in treating the building as a symbol. It is an interesting analysis of the combination of the brilliant formal exercise that is La Casa del Fascio with its underlying ideological expressions.

²⁶⁷ During the Independent Group's early sessions between 1952-4, Alloway was a curious onlooker, but after the departure of the architectural historian Reyner Banham (1922-1988) he became, in short order, the group's organiser, theorist and self-appointed spokesman, as well as the ICA's assistant director.

²⁶⁸ Lawrence Alloway. 1993. 'The arts and the mass media, *Art in Theory, 1900-1990, An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Harrison, Ch., P. Wood (ed.) (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers), p.141.

trained artist in order to reject the identity of art as 'the possession of an elite,' and to provide a more immediate way of communicating with an audience.²⁶⁹

1.15 From Propaganda to Pop

The exoticism of the American magazine was also recognised by part of the English book trade, and piles of copies of 'Colliers' and 'Saturday Evening Post' were always on sale in the Charing Cross Road for a shilling to half a crown. The fact that my friends and I were bound together by a form of poverty, living in rented rooms with no ice boxes, no cameras, and no fancy clothes, only added to the piquancy of these lush magazine images.

(Eduardo Paolozzi.1990. 'Retrospective Statement' reprinted in Robin Spencer. 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi: Writings and Interviews*, Oxford University Press, p.114)

Paolozzi's insistence on getting 'art into life' resonates closely with the ideals of European avant-garde culture in the 1920s and 1930s, which was in turn taken up, albeit in a debased form, by totalitarian regimes for the purposes of propaganda. Certainly, when Paolozzi was interviewed by Richard Hamilton in 1965 and asked why he never used conventional materials, his response was that he desired 'directness'.²⁷⁰ Paolozzi's *It's a Psychological Fact Pleasure Helps your Disposition* (1948), which uses technicoloured reproductions clipped from glossy magazines to depict all things mechanised within the domestic interior, relies on advertising's language of persuasion to communicate his ideas about capitalism (Figure 51 (i)). His principle template for the collage has been pulled from an advertisement in the *Ladies Home Journal*, which was a popular American magazine.²⁷¹ The collage is conceived in two distinct parts: the upper half of the composition contains the white hygienic surfaces of a modern kitchen fitted with every modern electrical appliance, and the 'bottom' half represents a child's bedroom full with toys and luxurious soft furnishings. The warm tones, light-filled spaces, views through the window of rolling green countryside together with the smiling dispositions of the women

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1965. Interviewed by Richard Hamilton reprinted in Spencer. 2000. 'Introduction,' *Eduardo Paolozzi Writings and Interviews* (Oxford University Press), p.142-3.

²⁷¹ Which was also used by Richard Hamilton for his *Just What is it that Makes Today's Homes so Different, so Appealing?* (1956).

inhabiting these interiors imbue the scenes with a sense of harmony consonant with those devices used in 'Lower' forms of Fascist propaganda.²⁷²

Paolozzi's optimal depiction of the modern home interior shares similarities with depictions of idealised life under Mussolini captured in popular magazines. The artist's *ideal* woman fabricated from remnants of American capitalist culture is comparable with those represented in Italian Fascist magazines, such as, 'Donne Nuove a Orvieto,' illustrated in *Tempo settimanale illustrato* (number 10, 3 August 1939).²⁷³ Implying that artist sees parallels between wartime propaganda and post-War manipulations of visual media. Here, on a double-page spread, an archetype of Italian Fascist feminine beauty is depicted in traditional peasant costume posing against a backdrop of blooming flowers – simultaneously implying her feminine beauty, youth and fecundity – positioned opposite an archetypal 'masculine' Italian Fascist man harvesting grain from the fields (Figure 51(ii)). Exemplary of the Italian Fascist propaganda in circulation, the labourer wears a cut-off sleeved shirt to maximise the display his rippling biceps. The characteristics emphasised by each illustration demonstrate how the Italian Fascist state delineated sex roles in society in order to promote a healthy, well-ordered, clearly defined gender-ordered world. Paolozzi's use of similar iconography is, however, relayed with a questioning and ironic tone that announces the double-edged mode of parody characteristic of Pop Art.

²⁷² Karen Pinkus explores the language of propaganda in-depth in *Bodily Regimes – Italian Advertising under Fascism* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, London).

²⁷³ *Tempo settimanale illustrato*, 3 Aug. 1939, no. 10. Archive of *Tempo settimanale illustrato* (1930 – 1940), Biblioteca Sormani, Milan.

Part II

Beyond Fascism: 'Pop' goes Pre-War Idealism

Pop art, like propaganda, used a language of immediacy that could be understood by a wide audience. Pop art was more than an anti-art gesture; it was a sophisticated multi-media art form reliant on the machinations of propaganda for its success.²⁷⁴ Paolozzi's use of popular and 'low' grade source material would have been a natural choice as vehicles for his 'messages' when considered in relation to the popular Italian Fascist propaganda in newspapers, films and radio broadcasts he grew up with.²⁷⁵ If Paolozzi's vision when starting out had been expressive of convictions sympathetic with Italian Fascism, it was becoming more sceptical. His reproduction of images documenting everyday fashions, lifestyles and commodities were becoming increasingly critical of consumerism and more penetrating in their unmasking of its ethics, its imagination, and the way in which it transformed desires, values and expectations.²⁷⁶ It is possible to see a subtle shift taking place in Paolozzi's position regarding mechanisation, and, by extension, his allegiances with Italian Fascism between 1947 and 1948. This shift asserts itself most profoundly after his trip to Paris (1947-49), and more generally reflects indebtedness to his new London milieu. He admitted in a late interview with Frank Whitford that he attended Communist meetings whilst still at Oxford and continued seeking out more radical political groups when he arrived in London:

...while I was still at the Slade I used to go around with Nigel Henderson, whose mother was involved with a Left-wing publisher called Lawrence & Wishert[ph], and we used to go to meetings above pubs and meet people, like, there was a sort of working-class George somebody who painted banners and that...and I think there was a man called Klinginder[ph], who was a sort of Marxist...²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ Nigel Whitely identifies the sophistication of understanding Paolozzi and Hamilton had about mass-media. For further reading see Nigel Whitely 1987. 'Toward a Throw-Away Culture - Consumerism, 'Style Obsolescence' and Cultural Theory in the 1950s and 1960s,' *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 10, no. 2.

²⁷⁵ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1995. Interview with Frank Whitford, British Library, London. Reference: C466/17/F4988-A.

²⁷⁶ Paolozzi's scrapbooks provide a fertile resource for identifying how the artist manipulates popular culture imagery.

²⁷⁷ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1995. Interview with Frank Whitford, British Library, London. Reference: C466/17/F4988-A.

From the artist's comment, it is clear Paolozzi had rejected his early indoctrination with Italian Fascist ideals, after being exposed to other political movements current in London post-War. Whilst he admitted he had 'a political background,' and continued to maintain a cultural interest in Italian Fascist iconography – for example through recycling Italian Fascism's use of the machine metaphor in art – Paolozzi separated himself from such political extremism.²⁷⁸

1.16 Demystifying Myths

Yet the reaction to my BUNK lecture was one of disbelief and some hilarity. Material treated by all of us as interesting 'sources' of ideas was still regarded as banal. I was looking at the source itself as worthy of serious analysis. To me this alternative culture had – and has – more energy and excitement than official culture.

(Eduardo Paolozzi.1993. *Retrospective Statement* audio recording, the British Library)

Unlike his British peers at the Slade, who Paolozzi found 'curiously un-political,' he maintained his desire to challenge the boundaries of art-making and to encourage his audience to think laterally.²⁷⁹ *Wind Tunnel Test* (1950) has been assembled by Paolozzi from reproduction photographs taken by the US Navy of a GI undergoing aerodynamic research into the effects of air moving past solid objects. The logical order of the experiment has been deliberately disrupted by the artist (Figure 52). Instead of the GI being depicted before the powerful fan system begins, and then appearing more and more distorted in successive images once the forces generated by airflow have been initiated, Paolozzi cut-and-pastes the photographs in reverse order, rendering the expressions of the GI absurd. By re-contextualising this article, which originally documented an aeronautical scientific experiment Paolozzi encourages the spectator to review the series of photographs in a new way. When viewed out of its specified order and with the omission of its accompanying textural explanation, the images of the aviator's face under extreme pressure take on comic meaning. Whimsy certainly plays a crucial part in our appreciation of *Wind Tunnel Test*, but beneath the humour lies a more challenging predicament. Whilst Paolozzi

²⁷⁸ Robin Spencer. 2000. 'Introduction,' *Eduardo Paolozzi Writings and Interviews* (Oxford University Press), p.17.

²⁷⁹ Spencer, 2000, 18.

continues to make reference to the dictators of the skies, here the aviator is being satirised rather than hero-worshipped. The makeshift formulation of the collage pieced together and adhered to coloured card is also strategic. His unfinished presentation of 'found' materials deliberately undermines the reliability of the original glossy and seamless photographic sequence, encouraging spectators to view popular media with a greater scepticism. In a more general sense, by deforming the male physique, Paolozzi is also undercutting the spirit of perfectionism associated with Fascist body politics.

Wind Tunnel Test is one of Paolozzi's BUNK series of collages which he later projected through an epidiascope at the ICA for the inaugural lecture of the Young Group. Founded by Dorothy Moreland (then Assistant Director of the ICA), the group was referred to as the Young Group to distinguish it from two other groups which existed at the time: the Television Study Group, and the Free Painters Group were the other orbiting groups in residence at the ICA.²⁸⁰ The title of the BUNK series refers to Henry Ford's famous statement that, 'History is more or less bunk...We want to live in the present,' reflecting Paolozzi's belief that his work should respond to contemporary culture.²⁸¹ *Yours 'til the Boys Come Home* (1951), another collage from the series, describes two co-dependent narratives juxtaposed next to one another: one strip of three reproduction tinted photographs taken wholesale from a magazine – which create the vertical spine of the composition – portray the fuselage of an aircraft depicted in varying stages of construction, whilst the larger two-part series depicts a scantily-clad woman captured disrobing in titillating poses (Figure 53). This suggestive juxtaposition impels the spectator to re-evaluate the mass-produced images. The disparity in subject content between the images encourages spectator participation so as to unravel the connections. The phallic propeller-headed aircraft and sexually available female share similarities with earlier collages such as *I was a Rich Man's Plaything*, and those in the artist's

²⁸⁰ Anne Massey. 1995. *The Independent Group: Modernism and Mass Culture, 1945-59* (Manchester University Press, Manchester), p.16.

²⁸¹ Henry Ford. 25 April 1916. *Benson Ford Research Centre*:
<http://www.thehenryford.org/research/hours.aspx>

1940s scrapbooks, which continue to explore the theme of technophile erotica present in Futurist discourse.²⁸² Paolozzi's lack of concealment of tear lines, use of worn pink-coloured backing paper, and carelessly ripped newsprint, further advance the interpretation that the artist intended to deconstruct the air-brushed language of advertising and idealised popular media saturating modern Capitalist society. By unmasking the lowly materiality 'beneath' these images of hope and desire Paolozzi betrays the shallow promises being projected.

Yours 'til the Boys Come Home can be seen as a precursor to Richard Hamilton's *Hommage à Chrysler Corp* (1957). The latter was one of a series of five paintings by Hamilton which explored the relationship between women and cars, an association that had become a cliché in advertisements then in vogue, which are now referred to as quintessential works of British Pop art (Figure 54).²⁸³ Lawrence Alloway has long been attributed with inventing the term 'pop art' in his essay, *The Arts and Mass Media* which was published in *Architectural Design* magazine in February, 1958 but the term never actually appeared in the essay.²⁸⁴ It was, however, used as an abbreviation for 'popular art' by the architects Alison and Peter Smithson in an article on Peter Blake, entitled 'But Today we Collect Ads,' which appeared in *Ark* magazine in November 1956.²⁸⁵ In a letter to the architects Alison and Peter Smithson dated 16 January, 1957, Hamilton elaborated on the definition of Pop art, some of the characteristics of which could also be applied to the American Pop Art movement of the 1960s:

Pop Art is:

²⁸² Eduardo Paolozzi. c.1940–1950. Buff coloured Scrapbook entitled 'People of China'. Reference: AAD/1985/3/6/5, London, Scrapbook with a Philips light bulb. Reference: AAD/1985/3/6/7, London and an undated white Scrapbook with a cut out of a man in a seated position. Reference: AAD/1985/3/6/10, London.

²⁸³ Julian Myers. 2011. *Living in the Long Front*, Tate Papers issue 16, online research publications.

²⁸⁴ Lawrence Alloway. February 1958. 'The Arts and the Mass Media', *Architectural Design*, vol.28, no.2, pp.84–5, reprinted in Kalina 2006, pp.55–9. Alloway uses the long-form 'popular arts' or 'mass arts' in distinction to 'fine arts'. The abbreviated 'pop art' was coined by John McHale in IG meetings, and first appeared in print in 1956 in the architects Alison and Peter Smithson's article 'But Today We Collect Ads', *Ark*, no.18, November 1956, reprinted in Robbins 1990, p.186.

²⁸⁵ Lawrence Alloway. Spring 1957. 'Personal Statement', *Ark*, no.19, reprinted in Richard Kalina (ed.), *Imagining The Present: Context, Content, and the Role of the Critic*, New York 2006, pp.51–3.

Popular (designed for a mass audience)
 Transient (short-term solution)
 Expendable (easily forgotten)
 Low Cost
 Mass-Produced
 Young (aimed at youth)
 Witty
 Sexy
 Gimmicky
 Glamorous
 Big Business.²⁸⁶

The way Hamilton looked upon works such as *Hommage à Chrysler Corp* not so much as a way of 'finding art forms but an examination of values,' resonates closely with Paolozzi's vision.²⁸⁷ What they were attempting to do, as Nigel Whitely has elucidated in greater detail, was to analyse (with varying degrees of criticality) the visual language of American images and products. One reason for this was to become what Alloway described as 'knowing consumers;' consumers who were not blindly manipulated but were able to 'read' and understand the symbols of their culture.²⁸⁸ Paolozzi and Hamilton's interrogation of commoditised culture fits within the broader context of the Marshall Plan, and how goods from the United States were received into European culture.

²⁸⁶ Richard Hamilton. 16 January, 1957. Letter to the Smithsons as quoted in David Robbins (ed.). 1990. *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London), p.29.

²⁸⁷ Richard Hamilton quoted in *Richard Hamilton* exhibition catalogue, Guggenheim Museum, New York, 1973, p. 45.

²⁸⁸ Nigel Whitely. 1987. 'Toward a Throw-Away Culture - Consumerism, 'Style Obsolescence' and Cultural Theory in the 1950s and 1960s,' *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 2, The 60s, p.25.

1.17 A Team Effort: Paolozzi and the Independent Group

Hamilton and Paolozzi were a part of a new wave of artistic innovation spearheaded by a cohort of like-minded theorists and artistic practitioners, who together became known as the Independent Group. The other members included the art critics and historians Lawrence Alloway and Reyner Banham, theorist and artist John McHale, artist and photographer Nigel Henderson, and architects Alison and Peter Smithson.²⁸⁹ Reflecting on the heady days of his time as a part of the Independent Group, Hamilton said:

There was a mood of the late fifties, felt both in London and New York, which made some painters strive for the unique attributes of our epoch – the particular character of our community as it is to register its identity on social history. Those affected by such reoccurring pressures seek to fabricate a new image of art to signify an understanding of man's changing state and the continually modifying channels through which his perception of the world is attained.²⁹⁰

The British Isles formerly regressive position in its response to avant-garde practices makes its coming to the fore as the site for progressivism in the 1950s all the more intriguing. Distanced from cutting-edge debate by its physical dislocation from mainland Europe, economically exhausted by wartime service and further inhibited by a fully operational class system, Britain was a surprising place for creative advancement.²⁹¹

It was against an unsupportive intellectual climate that the Independent Group, who held in common an interest with the products of contemporary American culture, developed their cultural theory of expendability. Alloway recalled that:

We felt none of the dislike of commercial culture standards amongst most intellectuals but accepted it as fact, discussed it in detail, and consumed it enthusiastically. One result of our discussion was to take Pop culture out of the realm of 'escapism,' 'sheer entertainment', 'relaxation' and to treat it with the seriousness of art. These interests put us in opposition both to the

²⁸⁹ For an in-depth overview of the history of the Independent Group see Anne Massey. 1995. *The Independent Group: Modernism and Mass Culture, 1945-59* (Manchester University Press, Manchester).

²⁹⁰ Richard Hamilton, 1964, quoted David Hopkins (ed.). 2006. *Neo-Avant-Garde*, Editions Rodopi B.V. p.252.

²⁹¹ For an excellent overview of the period see Chris Stephens and David Bindman (ed.). 2008. *The History of British Art*, Vol. 3: 1870 - now (Yale University Press).

supporters of indigenous folk art and to the anti-American opinion in Britain.²⁹²

The Independent Group's members were responding as much to European trends as they were to idiosyncratic British phenomena. They were motivated as much by dissatisfaction with the *sachlichkeit* aesthetics of Modernism, as they were by the stifling class systems and codified ways of seeing prescribed by the British artistic elite.²⁹³ In order to understand these artists and their ideas better, as Chris Stephens has made clear, it is necessary to position them 'in contexts wider than their immediate factions.'²⁹⁴

Hamilton's *Hommage à Chrysler Corp* was reliant on Reyner Banham's theory of car styling which was laid-out in its fullest form in his *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (1960). In this pioneering text Banham attacked the 'pioneering masters' of the Modern Movement for their attitude to technology which had ignored the main condition of technology – viz. continual change – in favour of a 'selective and classicizing' approach which 'came nowhere near an acceptance of machines on their own terms or for their own sakes'.²⁹⁵ In his 'Primitives of a Mechanised Art,' first published in *The Listener*, on 3 December 1959, Banham re-evaluated the contribution the Futurists' attitude to technology made in determining the importance of the development of an aesthetic which mimicked the ever-changing nature of the mechanised world:

Early in September 1951, I found a bound volume of Futurist Manifestoes on a bookstall outside the Brera, Milan. I picked it up, I looked at it, put it down again, and walked off...I must have been mad. Three years later I was cajoling and browbeating officials of the *Soprintendenza* in order to get into the Modern Gallery in Milan, which was temporarily closed, to see the Futurist paintings and sculpture there, having just come down from Como,

²⁹² Lawrence Alloway. July 1961. 'Design by Choice,' *Architectural Review* quoted in Nigel Whitely. 2002. *Reyner Banham: Historian of the Immediate Future* (MIT Press), p.91.

²⁹³ A series of lectures organised by Reyner Banham in 1954 under the title 'Books and the Modern Movement' sought to confront and upend what the IG understood to be the 'established line' on modernism, positioning Roger Fry, Herbert Read and Le Corbusier as primary targets. See David Robbins (ed.), *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London 1990, p.28.

²⁹⁴ Chris Stephens. 2012. 'The Morrow we Left Behind': Landscape and the Rethinking of Modernism, 1939-53,' *Art History – Journal of the Association of Art Historians* (Blackwell Publishing Ltd., Association of Art Historians), p. 61.

²⁹⁵ Reyner Banham. 1960. *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (London Architectural Press), p.10.

where I had been making similar manoeuvres in order to see the drawings of the Futurist architect, Antonio Sant'Elia.²⁹⁶

Banham suggested that the Futurists 'said something that could be generalized, they spoke a language that could be international, and comprehensible long after other art jargons had become dead languages.'²⁹⁷ The art theorist makes comparisons between the rhapsodic imaginings of an envisaged mechanised world laid out by Boccioni in *Pittura Scultura Futurista*:

We will put into the resulting vacuum all the germs of the power that are to be found in the example of primitives and barbarians of every race, and in the rudiments of that new sensibility emerging in all the anti-artistic manifestations of our epoch- cafe-chantant, gramophone, cinema, electric advertising, mechanistic architecture, skyscrapers...night life...speed, automobiles, aeroplanes and so forth.²⁹⁸

With 'the London scene into which we stepped as we left the Institute of Contemporary Arts those evenings in 1953 and 1954,'²⁹⁹ beguiled not simply by Futurist technophile rhetoric, but by their favouring of an abolition of the art of the past, it is clear that these 'long-lost ancestors,' so Banham referred to them, offered a fertile ideological framework for the Independent Group's preoccupations.³⁰⁰ It is unclear whether Paolozzi provided the initial catalyst for Banham's interest in Futurism, or whether it was their united interest which brought them together.³⁰¹ Certainly no documentation exists to determine the extent to which other members of the Independent Group were cognisant of the principles driving Futurist artistic practice; however, it is compelling to view the works of Hamilton, McHale, Henderson and the Smithsons as responding to discourses less peripheral than the propagandist language of consumer culture. For the purposes of this thesis it will be

²⁹⁶ Reyner Banham. (1996)1999. *A Critic Writes Essays* (University of California Press, London), p.39.

²⁹⁷ Banham (1996)1999, 41.

²⁹⁸ Umberto Boccioni. 1912. *The space-theory Technical Manifesto for Sculpture* reprinted in Reyner Banham. 1964. *Umberto Boccioni 1882 – 1916*, Arts Council Exhibition of graphic art from the collection of Mr and Mrs Harry Lewis Winston of Birmingham, Michigan, Arts Council Exhibition 19 Sept – 17 Oct 1964

²⁹⁹ Banham (1996)1999, 44.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Banham met Paolozzi when the latter gave his celebrated "Bunk" epidiascope show at the first meeting of the newly formed Independent Group in 1952.

Paolozzi's contribution to the group which will be of significance, but my interpretations of the artist's works of the early 1950s do have wider implications.

1.18 The *Time* Magazine Series

It was around 1950 that Paolozzi developed a new collage technique which to date has been interpreted exclusively in formal terms. He took covers from the Atlantic edition of the American weekly magazine *Time*, which were invariably faces of famous or powerful people, and deconstructed them by cutting them into predominantly horizontal, strips.³⁰² Having dissected them in this way, he then created new faces by inserting facial elements and ephemera from other sources. From 1950 onwards the fragmented head was to become an important motif for Paolozzi and other IG artists; namely Henderson, McHale and William Turnbull.³⁰³ The use of *Time* as source material continues to reflect their shared interest in American culture (Figure 55). *One Man Track Team* (1952) is created from fragments of *Time* covers published between 1952 and 1953, and includes the facial features of two politicians, a bishop and a well-known American athlete. The hair is that of Sir Anthony Eden (1897-1977), at the time Foreign Secretary in Winston Churchill's Conservative government (1951-5). The eyes are Walter Ulbricht's (1893-1973), the leader of the German Democratic Republic, who was demonised in *Time* as a puppet of the Soviet Union and held responsible for the ruthless suppression of the uprising on 17th June 1953 in East Germany; the map to the left of Ulbricht's eyes shows East Germany surrounded by barbed wire with flames rising from East Berlin. The nose and ears, as Toby Treves has identified, are those of Bishop Fulton J Sheen (1895-1979), a highly prominent spokesman of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States.³⁰⁴ Through his radio broadcasts on *The Catholic Hour* (1930-52) and his television programme *Life is Worth Living* (1952-5), his conservative views on Communism, Freud, and evolution were well known in America and may have had

³⁰² I would like to draw a parallel between my method of unpacking Paolozzi's collage and that of Patricia Leighton's analysis of Picasso's Analytical Cubism. By debunking purely formal enquiry it is possible to disseminate clear intent from the text included within the collaged compositions. See Patricia Leighton. 1989. *Re-Ordering the Universe: Picasso and Anarchism, 1897-1914* (Princeton University Press).

³⁰³ George Melly. 1970. *Revolt into Style- Pop Arts in Britain*, (London, A. Lane), p.22.

³⁰⁴ Toby Treves. 2001. display caption for *One Man Track Team* (1952), Tate Gallery.

some currency in Britain. In a well-publicised address to the United States Congress in 1950, Sheen had warned, 'You ought to pray that God, the sovereign King of nations, who once used Assyria as the rod and staff of His anger, will not now use Russia as the instrument of His justice for the liquidation of a Western World that has forgotten God'.³⁰⁵ The chin is that of Bob Mathias, one of the great American sporting celebrities to emerge at the London Olympics of 1948. He was aged seventeen when he won the decathlon gold medal and thus became the youngest athlete in Olympic history to win a track and field event. His extraordinary talent earned him the reputation of being a 'one-man track team,' after which Paolozzi has named his collage. In 1952 he retained his Olympic title in Helsinki and played in the Rosebowl as full-back for the Stanford University American Football team, making him the only person to compete in both events in the same year.³⁰⁶

Whilst no specific political agenda can be said to underpin *One Man Track Team*, this collage is one of a series in which Paolozzi explores and responds to the Cold War predicament. *Templar of Malaya* (1953) uses the same technique of cutting into, and layering on top of, *Time* covers ranging in date from early to late 1952 (Figure 56).³⁰⁷ The presence of Bishop Fulton J Sheen is once again present, this time his hairline appearing in the upper third of the collage cropped from the same 14 April cover, which suggests Paolozzi was making *Templar of Malaya* concurrently with *One Man Track Team*. The nose is Richard Nixon's (1913 – 1994), who appeared on the front of the 25 August edition. Nixon was elected as House Representative in 1946 and to the Senate in 1950 after serving in the United States Navy during World War II. He established a prominent public profile for being anti-Communist through his pursuit of the Hiss Case, and was the running mate of Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Republican Party Presidential candidate in the 1952 election. The collage is completed by the chin and shoulders of Gerald Templer (1898 – 1979), a British military commander who fought in both World Wars. Templer was appointed

³⁰⁵ Bishop Fulton J Sheen, 14 April 1953, quoted in *Time*, vol. LIX, no 15, p.40.

³⁰⁶ As Toby Treves has pointed out the discrepancy between the date of the magazine cover in the top left and Paolozzi's handwritten date in the bottom right suggests that he signed and dated the work at a later date.

³⁰⁷ Time covers can be accessed using the online Time Magazine Archive <http://www.time.com/time/archive>.

British High Commissioner in Malaya by Winston Churchill on 22nd January 1952 to deal with a Malayan emergency. Templer famously remarked that in order to combat Communism, 'the answer [to the uprising] lies not in pouring more troops into the jungle, but in the hearts and minds of the people.'³⁰⁸ It is as if, through his various reorganisations and insertions of *Time* covers, Paolozzi enters into contemporary political debate. By cutting and splicing journal clippings relaying contemporary current affairs stories he situates his collages in a specific point in time. Echoing his Futurist forebears, Paolozzi was 'getting art into life'.³⁰⁹

Even when Marinetti's hopes for Futurism promoting an Italian Revolution were dashed in the middle of the 1920s, Futurism lived on. The movement continued alongside the new regimes modernised classicism and nostalgia for order and imperial splendour of the Roman Empire.³¹⁰ Futurism was founded on challenging art to take on board contemporary life.³¹¹ The Futurists polemical use of collage – indebted to Picasso's formulation of the medium – was intimately connected with their political ambitions. In a letter of November 1914 to Severini, Marinetti emphasised the need for Futurist works to 'incite' the viewer, stating that he did not see this as 'prostitution' of Futurist dynamism.³¹² Marinetti went on to predict that the impact of the War would lead to a new realism in Futurist works. Collage answered this need, and it became the central compositional technique of the Futurists, responding to Marinetti's plea for a united front at this time of crisis.³¹³ One of the earliest efforts to use collage was Boccioni's *Chargers of the Lancers* (1915), which comprises a fragment of newspaper in the upper right corner which reads, 'Punti d'appoggio tedeschi presi dai francesi' ('German strategic points taken by the French'), which anchors the collage formally and reveals its subject, a French victory

³⁰⁸ Gerald Templer quoted in John Cloake. 1985. *Templer, Tiger of Malaya* (Harrap), p.11.

³⁰⁹ Anne Bowler. Dec. 1991. 'Politics as Art: Italian Futurism and Fascism,' *Theory and Society* Vol. 20, No. 6 (Springer), p. 788.

³¹⁰ Richard Humphreys. 1999. *Movements in Modern Art – Futurism* (Tate publishing), p.72.

³¹¹ Bowler 1991, 773-780.

³¹² Gino Severini quoted in Lawrence S. Rainey, Christine Poggi, Laura Wittman (ed.). 2009. *Futurism: An Anthology* (Yale University Press), p. 212.

³¹³ For an expanded story of the history of Futurist collage see Christine Poggi. 1992. *In Defiance of Painting: Cubism, Futurism and the Invention of Collage* (Yale University Press), pp.228 - 252.

in the Oise Valley.³¹⁴ This work is intended to celebrate a specific moment in history. Another strip of text pasted horizontally across the right edge supplies further commentary: 'the Austro Germans have arrived in France and Belgium war has erupted,' on top of which Boccioni depicts cavalry lancers in battle. Christine Poggi suggests that Boccioni's lancers 'seem to burst through the newspaper into the (male) viewers' space...Propelling him out of his armchair, where he could read the newspaper, and into the field of war.'³¹⁵

Exploiting the mode of collage provided Paolozzi with a fitting vehicle, not simply for assaulting the manufactured display propagated by popular media propaganda, but for countering the mythical politics of Futurism and Fascism which had manipulated the masses, as Mark Antliff put it, 'through a process of spiritual conversion and psychological transformation.'³¹⁶ The slick popular media images are fragmented by Paolozzi to reveal the inconsistent – often contradictory – stories being mediated to the public. Using the human head as a vehicle for deconstructing these competing current affairs issues has been considered by the artist not simply in formal terms – in order to create a figurative composition – but to implicate the manner in which these images and their accompanying stories impact on the psyche of the mind. His experimentation with breaking-down the facade of 1950s media broadcasts parallels the artist's attempt to interrogate the indoctrination of Italian Fascist spectacle.³¹⁷ Beneath the pristine visions of a utopian world promised by Fascist victory its politics could not have been more incoherent.³¹⁸ Furthermore, by selecting a series of contemporary magazine covers, Paolozzi, deliberately draws parallels between recent Cold War tensions and the historical events of World War II.

³¹⁴ Poggi 1992, p.234.

³¹⁵ Poggi 1992, p.234.

³¹⁶ Mark Antliff. 2007. *Avant-Garde Fascism: The Mobilization of Myth, Art, and Culture in France, 1909-1939* (Duke University Press), p.61.

³¹⁷ Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi argues that an aesthetically founded notion of politics guided fascist power's historical unfolding and determined the Fascist regime's violent understanding of social relations, its desensitized and dehumanized claims to creation, its privileging of form over ethical norms, and ultimately its truly totalitarian nature. For more read Falasca-Zamponi. 2000. *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini's Italy* (University of California Press).

³¹⁸ For an in-depth account of the ideological underpinnings of Fascism see Anthony James Gregor.1979. *Young Mussolini and the intellectual origins of fascism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, USA; London, England, UK: University of California Press).

In 1946, a new reign of repression began in the Soviet Union, in which virtually all contact with the decadent bourgeois West was closed off; those who 'kow-tow before the West,' who perpetuated Western ideas – its capitalist mentality – risked professional suicide, arrest, imprisonment or exile.³¹⁹ Meanwhile, America's McCarthyism (1947 – 1957) created a cultural climate in which virtually any form of unconventional behaviour, 'such as owning Paul Robertson records, doing Yoga or attending anti-H bomb protests,' as Christine Lindey points out, were to risk being suspected of disloyalty to the American way.³²⁰ Paolozzi draws attention to the similarities between the propaganda of World War II and that used in America during the Cold War. *David Lilienthal* (1952) brings together the jaw-line of the Chairman for the United States Atomic Energy Commission (1899 – 1981) reaped from the 4 August 1947 cover of *Time*, with the eyes of American architect Wallace K. Harrison (1895 – 1981) from the 2 September 1952 issue (Figure 57). Whilst the image of Lilienthal, who was responsible for ensuring President Truman (1945 – 1953) would have the use of a number of working atomic bombs, raises fear of atomic war, the upward thrust of Harrison's Rockefeller Centre and New York City's building projects mirrored the economic growth and increased power of the U.S. nation.³²¹ Paolozzi's juxtaposition of imagery pertaining to war with allusions of a better New World coming into being resonates closely with the propaganda circulated under Mussolini's Fascist regime.³²²

Paolozzi continues to deconstruct the rhetoric *beneath* the air-brushed faces in *Time* magazine's 1950s issues in *Mr. Gromyko* (1950) (Figure 58). He configures this collaged head out of emblematic icons of capitalist and communist Cold War culture.³²³ The lower third of the collaged face is that of Russia's Andrei A. Gromyko, taken from the cover of 18 August 1947 issue of *Time*. Gromyko's political

³¹⁹ Christine Lindey.1990. *Art in the Cold War – from Vladivostok to Kalamazoo, 1945-1962* (The Herbert Press), p.8.

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Time Magazine Archive (02/02/2011) <http://www.time.com/time/archive>.

³²² For further reading see Falasca-Zamponi 2000.

³²³ Time Magazine Archive (01/06/2012) <http://www.time.com/time/archive>.

career spanned the history of the Cold War.³²⁴ The magazine's depiction of Gromyko next to an olive branch is appropriate given his role as détente between the US and the USSR. The hairline, by contrast, belongs to the rugged American actor John Wayne (1907 – 1979) who became an enduring Western war hero icon. Wayne symbolized and communicated American values and ideals and was hero-worshipped by all the branches of the United States Armed Forces. The actor's athletic physique and ultra-masculine heroism shared characteristics with the male *ideal* propagated by the Italian Fascist state. The theme of male heroism is a persistent one in Paolozzi's portfolio of work and will be explored in greater detail in the next chapter. The final, central portion of the collage belongs to Leon Trotsky (1879–1940). Paolozzi has purposefully selected the section depicting the eyes to identify the Russian Marxist revolutionary. Trotsky's visionary reflections in *Terrorism and Communism* (1920) foreshadowed Cold War struggle.³²⁵

...The Capitalist bourgeois calculates: While I have my hands, lands, factories, workshops, banks; while I possess newspapers, universities, schools; while –and this most important of all– I retain control of the army: the apparatus of democracy, however, you reconstruct it, will remain obedient to my will. I subordinate to my interests spiritually the stupid, conservative, characterless lower middle class, just as it is subjected to me materially. I oppress, and will oppress, its imagination by the gigantic scale of my buildings, my transactions, my plans and my crimes. For moments when it is dissatisfied and murmurs, I have created scores of safety valves and lightening conductors. At the right moment I will bring into existence opposition parties, which will disappear tomorrow, but which today accomplish their mission by affording the possibility of the lower middle class expressing their indignation without hurt there from for Capitalism. I shall hold the masses of the people, under cover of compulsory general education, on the verge of complete ignorance, giving them no opportunity of rising above the level which my experts in spiritual slavery consider safe.³²⁶

³²⁴ He started out in 1939 at the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs (later renamed Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1946). In 1943 he became the Soviet ambassador to the United States, leaving in 1946 to become the Soviet Permanent Representative to the United Nations. Upon his return to the Soviet Union he became a Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and later the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, moving on to become the Soviet ambassador to the United Kingdom in 1952.

³²⁵ Trotsky was famously expelled from the Communist Party after leading a failed struggle of the Left Opposition against the rise and policies of Joseph Stalin (1922 – 1952) in the 1920s.

³²⁶ Leon Trotsky. 1976. *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1929)* (Pathfinder Press), p.213.

In one compound image, Paolozzi brings together figures representative of the leading oppositional forces of the Cold War period. *Mr. Gromyko* is far from being an arbitrary or absurd configuration of collaged elements. Paolozzi does not concern himself with the frivolous or the superfluous. Responding to immediate issues of the day rather than relying on anachronistic artistic traditions and iconographies authorised by the elite for the creation of his compositions, Paolozzi, like his Futurist and Constructivist forebears, sought to make art insistently relevant to the wider publics.

1.19 Paolozzi: a Post-War Italian Artist

We shall set out at midnight, soldiers of the Impossible, tearing the poster from the old wall like a fluttering banner, we shall walk, balancing, on the wires swollen with dizzying electricity, we shall dive headlong into the Herzian waves and we shall sail and swim and fly, until the dawn has dissolved like a tiny star in the milky way. And so we shall wind up, pearls filched from the depths of the oceans and dissolved in goblet of nectar, with no right to the heroic myth of the boring constellations...

(Enrico Prampolini. June 1917. reprinted in *Cinquant'anni a Dada, Dada in Italia 1916 – 1966*, exhibition catalogue 1966, Galleria Schwartz, Milan)

If Paolozzi's politicised use of the collage medium is difficult to understand when considered in relation to the post-War British art scene, his manipulation of the medium closely parallels artistic developments being pioneered by his Italian contemporaries. Germano Celant argued post-War Italian artists embraced collage as they 'came to favour American vitalism as a vehicle for emerging out of totalitarianism, and for rediscovering democratic and international values.'³²⁷ Strong parallels exist between Paolozzi's late 1940s and early 1950's multi-media art works – which walk a line between celebrating abstractionism and embracing direct incursions of reality – and the fusions of abstract and 'found' aesthetics being produced in 1940s and 1950s Italy. The artist, scenographer and theorist Enrico Prampolini (1894–1956) was a leading figure in the Italian post-War scene, responsible, amongst other significant achievements, for the founding of the Art Club in Rome in 1945. Prampolini's extensive exposure to the European avant-garde

³²⁷ Germano Celant. 1994. *The Italian Metamorphosis, 1943-1968*: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, October 7-1994-January 22, 1995, Triennale Di Milano, February-May 1995, Kunstmuseum Wolfsburg, May-September 1995 (Abrams), p.12.

extended the language of Futurism and developed the diversity and scope of artistic practice in the Italian artistic community.³²⁸ The club became a place of aggregation European in scope: the Polish painter Joseph Jarema and Gino Severini, Carla Accardi, Alberto Burri and notable others, congregated and cross-fertilised artistic ideas and practices. Prampolini's teachings held much sway with the younger generation of artists, and in what follows it will be argued Paolozzi's work of the late 1940s and early 1950s reveal that he shared these concerns.

Prampolini was the first Italian artist to question the use of materials in making art. It was his belief in Futurist tenets – that works of art were not only to be looked at but to be lived, pushed to the extreme – which promoted his production of work in many different media. For Prampolini, different types of material, by their intrinsic qualities, and the relationships established between them provided, 'flashes of inspiration of "ordinary things" ... [that, when they] illuminate art, create these elements which are most essential to our everyday reality.'³²⁹ He laid out his instructions urging the use of a diversity of materials in creating works of art in *Arte polimaterica (verso un'arte Collettiva?)* in 1944. In this volume Prampolini encouraged artists to believe that, 'encounters with matter were not about a battle against painting, but about taking to its extreme the idea of substituting completely and fundamentally the reality of paint with the reality of matter.'³³⁰ What Prampolini refers to as 'encounters with matter,' literally 'interviews with matter' – were descriptions for the material composition of a work of art, or what he termed its 'polymateriality.'³³¹ He argued that, by incorporating diverse materials into a work

³²⁸ Prampolini was one of the few artists who remained true to Futurism, joining the movement as early as 1913 when he was still a young man and had been expelled for 'non-conformity' from the Academy of Fine Arts in Rome. After extensive travel abroad in the early 1920s and an ongoing exchange of ideas with artists including Alexander Archipenko, Jean Arp, Marc Chagall, Albert Gleizes, and Vasily Kandinsky, Prampolini moved to Paris. He lived there from 1925 through 1937, associating with members of various artists' groups, including *Der Sturm* (The Storm) and the *Section d'Or* (Golden Section), as well as artists connected to the Bauhaus. In 1926 he exhibited at the Venice Biennale with the group *Die Abstrakten* (The Abstract Artists), and in 1930 he joined the Parisian group *Cercle et Carré* (Circle and Square). Shortly afterward he founded *Gruppo 40* (Group 40) and became associated with *Abstraction-Création* (Abstraction-Creation), a loose movement formed to counteract the influence of Surrealism. He returned to Italy with new ways of seeing invaluable to the group of younger artists.

³²⁹ Enrico Prampolini. 1944. 'Arte polimaterica (verso un'arte Collettiva?),' *Anticipazioni Serie Arti*, no.7 (Roma, O.E.T., Edizioni del secolo), p.14, self translated from Italian.

³³⁰ Prampolini 1944, p.15.

³³¹ Ibid.

of art, the work would no longer be confined within a pictorially defined dimension, but could extend towards creating new realities.³³²

Polymaterial art is not a technique but a rudimentary means of artistic expression...the evocative power of which resides in the formal arrangement of matter... Matter being something inherent within the natural world (a living organism, consisting of atoms in perpetual motion) as well as having formal transcendence...Matter can be made spiritual and harmoniously arranged over surfaces in space, where the lively and direct juxtaposition of different materials raises to a higher level the human vision of our era.³³³

Prampolini's works emphasise the importance of polymateriality. Whilst *Figura Nello Spazio I* (1937) and *Angeli della terra* (1936) are figurative in content and capture aspects of mechanised modernity; *Intervista con la Materia* (1927) and *Natura Morta Alla Pera* (1930) use selections of shiny, porous and textural materials to create abstract compositions describing metaphysical concepts (Figure 59). Prampolini's consistent reinvention of new lexicons suited to the character of modern society paved the way for what Alberto Fiz describes as, 'the promiscuity of materiality,' which defined the two distinct directions of post-War Italian art:³³⁴ Nouveau Realisme and Neo Dada which concentrated on incorporating direct incursions from reality, and *Movimento arte Concreta*, 'Spatialism' and variants of abstraction employing polymaterials to functional or emotive effect. Paolozzi's innovative experimentation with materials in the late 1940s and early 50s closely parallel Italian advances initiated by Prampolini. In what follows, it will be argued that Paolozzi's photo-collage and conglomerates of 'found' sculpture are readily explicable when contextualised within the Italian post-War artistic milieu. Through a close analysis of specific examples a compelling case for considering Paolozzi's artistic production of this period as a response to Italy's competing Neo-Dada and abstract trends will be made.

³³² Prampolini 1944, p.18.

³³³ Prampolini 1944, p.21.

³³⁴ Alberto Fiz. 2009. *Mimo Rotella Roma- Parigi -New York* (Skira), p.23.

1.20 Paolozzi and Nouveau Réalisme

[...]trash has a history of its own, because you find objects that have been worked, that have lived, that have existed; and that have taken on a certain beauty...

(César Baldaccini in *Diapaphe*, no.29, March 1983)

Paolozzi's invention of collages compiled from imagery from magazines, now identified as Pop art, parallel Mimmo Rotella's (1918–2006) creation of his *décollage* technique in 1953. The *décollage* was essentially an inversion of collage. It was created through a process of cutting, tearing away or otherwise removing pieces of an original image sourced from popular culture.³³⁵ The term was coined by Emilio Villa in 1955.³³⁶ The exact chain-of-influence among artists leading up to the invention of *décollage* is still to be determined by art historical scholarship, but the lacerated poster became an art form as early as 1949.³³⁷ Rotella, perhaps inspired by his experience of America whilst on a Fulbright Scholarship to Kansas City, started to tear down posters from the street on his return to Rome. The artist defended his actions by declaring that it was, 'the only revenge, the only protest against society that had lost its taste for change and mind-blowing transformation.'³³⁸ In a 1963 letter to Guido Le Noci, Rotella wrote:

Posters are important not only for themselves but also for their topicality. Their colours acquire new meaning today the 'images' get new meaning for me as they introduce a really new element in my everyday relation with the street. Colour's emotional mainspring triggers my willingness to lacerate and starts the complex chain of facts that find the completion in my work.³³⁹

Motivated by a common interest with Paolozzi to reveal the seamier underbelly *beneath* the artifice of glamour, affluence and harmony projected by high-coloured popular culture, Rotella similarly assaults materiality to undermine the ideals on

³³⁵ Germano Celant. 2007. Mimmo Rotella (Skira), p.24.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Other celebrated artists of the *décollage* technique are French artists François Dufrène, Jacques Villeglé, and Raymond Hains. Often these artists worked collaboratively and it was their intention to present their works in the city of Paris anonymously.

³³⁸ Celant 2007, p.27.

³³⁹ Mimmo Rotella. 7 Oct. 1961. From a letter to Guido Le Noci, reprinted Pierre Restany (ed.). 1963. *Rome in Dal décollage alla nuova immagine* (Edizioni Apollinaire, Milan).

which capitalist culture was founded. Art critic Milton Gendel, correspondent for American *Art News* in the 1950s, described Rotella as 'new Dadaist,' a label which proved quite popular, partly because the Neo-Dada was simultaneously taking root in America thanks to Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg.³⁴⁰

Rotella's almost completely abstract *Partendo dalil'angolo della strada* (1954) typifies the early phase of his *décollage* gesture (Figure 60).³⁴¹ He used both the front and back of the posters to break down the connection with the sign-symbol characteristic of the Western pictorial tradition.³⁴² Paolozzi, through his use of collage, similarly sought to create an art form which was neither painting nor sculpture so that it stood 'outside' of the official canon. If Rotella's appropriation and displacement of posters was undoubtedly a legacy of Dada, his tear as Alberto Fiz argues, which opened up 'new ways to perception and a new relation between art and life,' made clear reference to Futurism.³⁴³ Fiz goes further, arguing that the spirit which characterised the 'colour explosion,' 'internal combustion painting,' and 'surprise painting' mentioned by Giacomo Balla in his *Manifesto del Coloure* (1918), could be found in *décollage*.³⁴⁴ He also suggests Rotella was 'able to capture the dynamic and liberating component of the sign that creates a new connection with form and space,' echoing the second generation teachings of Prampolini.³⁴⁵ Using Fiz's rationale, it is equally possible to interpret Paolozzi's collage of the late 1940s and early 1950s as continuing to extend Neo-Dadaist and Futurist creative practice: *Wind Tunnel Test* (1950) and *Yours 'til the Boys Come Home* (1951), created from 'found' ephemera, carry over Dada's iconoclastic legacy whilst retaining Second Generation Futurism's interest with materiality, simultaneity and contemporaneity.

Pierre Restany categorised Rotella within the Nouveau Réalisme movement alongside Yves Klein, Arman, Daniel Spoerri, Jean Tinguely, Raymond Hains, Niki

³⁴⁰ Rotella 1997, p.45 it should be noted that owing to Leo Castelli opening his gallery in Rome Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg both visited.

³⁴¹ With the exception of partially erased letters it was not until 1960 that Rotella began introducing images into his work.

³⁴² Celant 2007, p.26.

³⁴³ Fiz 2009, p.13.

³⁴⁴ Ibid, p.21.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

de Saint Phalle, Gérards Deschamps and César Baldaccini.³⁴⁶ The group set forth in their manifesto, signed 27 October 1960, to devise 'new ways of perceiving the real.'³⁴⁷ Paolozzi's connection with the European movement – largely unrecognised by critics at the time – was apparent to his art dealer Erica Brausen, who chose to exhibit Paolozzi's sculpture alongside a roster of exhibitions of European artists, in particular César.³⁴⁸ She exhibited César's radical compressions of automobiles, discarded metal and rubbish, such as *Nu Assis, Pompei* (1954), a year prior to Paolozzi's 'metamorphosis of rubbish' sculptures in 1957 (Figure 61).³⁴⁹ The complex collage sculptures Paolozzi constructed from cutting and impressing ready-made, and mechanical objects into wax then casting the result in bronze at Fiorini and Carney in London resonate closely with César's throw-away gestures.³⁵⁰ In an interview with Edouard Roditi in 1960 Paolozzi makes plain his interest with materials and invokes comparison with César:

...I try to subject these objects, which are the basic materials of my sculptures, to more than one metamorphosis. Generally, I am conscious, as I work, of seeking two or at most three such changes in my materials... the artist must dominate his materials completely, so as fully to transform or to transmute them. You have probably seen, in New York and in Paris, a lot of work by younger sculptors, who like Stankiewicz, César and I work mainly with *objet trouve*...³⁵¹

Paolozzi's *Chinese Dog* (1958), *Little King* (1958) *Frog Eating a Lizard* (1957), and *Monkey Man* (1958) present conglomerates appropriated, recycled and reinvented from base materials paralleling Restany's description of César's, 'poetic recycling of urban, industrial and advertising reality.'³⁵²

³⁴⁶ For an in-depth overview of Nouveau Réalisme see Jill Carrick. 2010. *Nouveau réalisme, 1960s France, and the Neo-avant-garde* (Ashgate).

³⁴⁷ Pierre Restany. 16 April 1960. *New Realists* (retrieved August 2012). <http://www.erudit.org/culture/inter1068986/inter1116766/45945ac.pdf>.

³⁴⁸ Paolozzi's first solo exhibition at the Hanover Gallery in London was in 1958.

³⁴⁹ Eduardo Paolozzi in interview with Roditi, 1960, reprinted in Robin Spencer (ed.). 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi Writings and Interviews* (Oxford University Press), p.107.

³⁵⁰ John Paul Stonard uncovered the locations of Paolozzi's wax sculptures in 'Used Future: The Early Sculptures of Eduardo Paolozzi' in Peter Selz and John Paul Stonard. 2010. *Eduardo Paolozzi- Archeology of a Used Future: Sculpture 1946-1959* (Jonathan Clark in association with The Paolozzi Foundation), P.28.

³⁵¹ Eduardo Paolozzi in interview with Roditi, 1960, reprinted in Spencer 2000, p.107.

³⁵² Ibid.

The artists – Paolozzi and César – share a concern for demonstrating how ‘low’ materials could be used to create aesthetic creations in the exact same manner as traditional materials had been used. They valued the properties of inexpensive materials as highly as expensive ones: Paolozzi hailed discarded detritus ‘the sublime of the everyday life,’³⁵³ whilst César once said, ‘in my opinion materials live lives of their own and when I say ‘precious’ I don’t mean gold is more precious than cardboard.’³⁵⁴ It was the qualitative expressive potentialities of these materials which the artists found compelling. The gesture of presenting materials considered too lowly to be admitted into the sacred enclosure of the artwork asserted an inherently provocative gesture which at the same time denounced consumerism. Banal ephemera, or what Lea Vergine describes as ‘the ‘background’ noise that underscores our existence’ countered traditional expectations for a work of art to be grand, even awe-inspiring.³⁵⁵

Ettore Colla (1892–1968), another leading Italian assemblage sculptor, best known for his bent iron constructions, similarly brought ‘low’ ‘high’ cultural themes.³⁵⁶ His mythological themes: Moses, Orpheus, Pygmalion, Nike Agreste and Genesis prefiguring Paolozzi’s own series of mythical warriors (*Nike Agreste* Figure 62): *St. Sebastian* (1957), *Greek Hero* (1957), *Icarus* (1957) (Figure 63). Lawrence Alloway’s 1960 interpretation of Colla’s sculpture as mirroring ‘the cycle of consumption, obsolescence, reprocessing, and renewed consumption’ apparent in the modern world resonates closely with his interpretation of Paolozzi’s oeuvre published in *Metallization of a Dream* (1963).³⁵⁷ Whilst a direct point of contact between Paolozzi and Colla is not affirmed, Alloway’s connection with both artists suggestively advances the possibility that an active dialogue existed between the two parties.

³⁵³ Eduardo Paolozzi. May 1959. ‘The Artist Sketches an Aesthetic of the Objet Trouve based on a Conscious Metamorphosis of the Derelict,’ *Arts* (New York), republished in Edouard Roditi. 1960. ‘Eduardo Paolozzi,’ *Dialogues on Art* (London, Secker & Warburg), p.152.

³⁵⁴ César. March 1983. S Frauchereau and J Ristat, ‘Interview with Cesar,’ *Diapaphe*, no.29.

³⁵⁵ Lea Vergine. 2007. *When Trash Becomes Art* (Skira), p.11.

³⁵⁶ Lawrence Alloway. 1960. *Ettore Colla: Iron Sculpture* (Graphica Roma), unpaginated.

³⁵⁷ *The Metallization of a Dream* was compiled by John Munday with Paolozzi’s help. Munday, a student at the Royal College of Art designed, printed, bound and published the volume in 1963 by the RCA’s Lion and Unicorn Press, which operated from 1953 to 1978. The press’s editions ran to just 400 copies.

1.21 Finding a New Utopia: Paolozzi and Post-War Abstraction

...how many evocative suggestions can emerge from the image of the wall and all its derivations! Separations, cloistering; weeping walls, prison walls; testimonials to the passing of time, smooth surfaces....detritus of love, grief, disgust, disorder; romantic prestige of ruins; contribution of organic materials...refusal of the world interior contemplation, annihilation of passions, silence...of magma, lava, ash; battlefield, garden, playground...

(Antoni Tàpies. 1969. 'Communication on the Wall' reprinted in A. Augustí Tàpies. 1990. *The Complete Works, 1961-1968*, vol. II, Barcelona)

Whilst Paolozzi's collage and his series of figure sculptures of the late 1940s and 1950s can be interpreted as responding to the wider concerns of the Nouveau Réalisme movement, other multi-media works by the artist employing textured materials arranged in odd patterns —rashes of bumps, clusters of squares, and sinuous lines — evince compelling comparisons with poetic experimentations in abstract art executed in the post-World War II period in Italy. Experiments between realism and abstraction sparked heated critical debate between vying artistic groups in Italy at the end of the 1940s. To understand better the aesthetics Paolozzi created in the late 1940s and early 1950s we will need to address in greater detail the following relevant abstract art movements:

- i) The metaphysical Rome based *Forma 1* group, which included artists: Mino Guerrini, Pietro Consagra, Achille Perilli, Giulio Turcato, Piero Dorazio, Antonio Sanfilippo, Carla Accardi, Ugo Attardi, and Concetto Maureri.
- ii) The functionalist Milan group *Movimento arte Concreta* (Concrete Art Movement), which included artists: Bruno Munari, Atanasio Soldati, Galliano Mazzon, Luigi Veronesi, Mario Nigro, Mauro Reggiani, Ettore Sottsass and Amalia Garau.
- iii) The expressionist Alberto Burri's experimentation with burlap.
- iv) The exploration of space innovated by Lucio Fontana's 'Spatialism.'

Paolozzi's *Collage January to July* (1951) composed of layered, cut or torn paper from large screen-printed sheets was created whilst he had taken up a teaching post in the textiles department at the Central School of Arts and Crafts in London (Figure 64). It was whilst based at the Central School, between 1949 and 1955, Paolozzi that made a large number of collages presenting complex configurations of black strips punctuated with dots and taches. Colour was added to the collages using opaque and transparent paint or ink. Paolozzi's spare vocabulary and emphasis on materiality invites comparison with works by *Forma 1*, such as Mino Guerrini's *No. 1949 (Tecnica mista su tela)* (1949). The artist's presentation of black interconnecting striations of paint applied to white burlap exemplifies the group's minimal language of forms and colour. Founded in Rome in 1949, *Forma 1* declared in its manifesto that they were resolutely abstract in vision, insisting that 'the form of the lemon interests us, not the lemon.'³⁵⁸ The group introduced themselves as 'Formalists and Marxists,' intent on placating those that were suspicious of abstraction and associated it with the mere decorative by emphasising that their formal research did not rule out political commitment.³⁵⁹ The reason for *Forma 1* insisting their 'Left' allegiances must be understood as a response to a specific set of circumstances Italy was facing after World War II. In order for abstract artists to separate themselves from Futurism, which had dominated the Italian art scene, it was necessary for them to assert identities independent of Fascism. Whilst *Collage January to July* superficially shares visual characteristics with *Forma 1* group's variant of abstraction, Paolozzi does not recoil from the decorative. *Collage January to July* provided the basis for large scale collage murals made during the first half of the 1950s when Paolozzi was involved with a number of architectural projects. These works, pieced together from sections of screen-printed paper deliberately inhabit an ambiguous 'place' somewhere between fine art and design.

³⁵⁸ My translation, *Forma 1* manifesto (1949) reprinted in Alfieri Editore (ed.). 1976. *Forma 1 – Roma 1946/1949. Mostre del Gruppo Forma 1*: Carla Accardi, Ugo Attardi, Pietro Consagra, Piero Dorazio, Mino Guerrini, Concetto Maugeri, Achille Perilli, Antonio Sanfilippo, Giulio Turcato, Palazzo del Popolo, Todi Luglio (Venice, Agosto), unpaginated.

³⁵⁹ *ibid.*

Dating from the same period, Paolozzi's large-scale *Collage Mural* (1952), commissioned by modernist architects Jane Drew and Edwin Maxwell Fry for the offices of their firm, *Fry, Drew and Partners*, in London, provides a compelling example of a commission carried out by the artist which can be identified as both interior design and fine art (Figure 65). Created using fragments of paper decorated in paint, ink and silkscreen prints of abstracted and geometric designs, Paolozzi has abandoned distinctions between foreground and background in favour of an all-over pattern of vertical and horizontal lines, rectilinear shapes and loose, uneven grids. Amidst the geometric shapes some dot and line patterns resemble simplified organic forms, evoking the kind of magnified – and abstracted – patterns revealed under the lens of a microscope. The work, which was photographed in situ on a wall in a white-washed functional space, oscillates between a patterned frieze and a painted mural.³⁶⁰ The dialogue between design and painting explored in *Collage Mural* parallels artistic crossovers made by Italy's *Movimento Arte Concreta* (MAC). Shot through with disagreements, splits and misunderstandings, MAC lacked a clear theoretical basis.³⁶¹ Whilst Mauro Reggiani advocated a vision free from any references to the figure – shared by Swiss concrete artists such as Max Huber and Max Bill, who founded the movement – younger members of MAC, namely Bruno Munari preferred to invest in making art with a practical purpose.³⁶²

Elected president of MAC in 1953, Munari played an important role in shaping the movement's direction. In MAC's catalogue number 10, devoted to the exhibition, 'Mechanisation disintegralism total art organic art public danger' (in which the *Manifesto of Mechanisation* (1938) by Munari is published), the imperative for making art relevant to its time is laid out. Balla and the Futurists are mentioned in the editorial:

³⁶⁰ Eduardo Paolozzi. c 1952. Photographic negatives showing interior views of Roland Jenkins office Charlotte Street, London, Tate Gallery Archive 9211/9/3/85-88, London.

³⁶¹ Luciano Caramel. 1984. *MAC Movimento Arte Concreta 1948 – 1952* (Electa); Milan, *MAC Movimento Arte Concreta 1948 – 1952*, *Civica Galleria d'Arte Moderna*, April – July 1984, p.vii.

³⁶² Caramel 1984, p.ix.

How can one expect today's public still to take an interest in the problems of painting or sculpture when it is accustomed to seeing everything resolved in concrete terms in the cinema, in illuminated advertising, in the great three-dimensional publicity signs of the international fairs...So is art dead or has it altered aspect without many people noticing? What would Leonardo be doing today: the Montecatini pavilion or an oil on canvas portrait of Miss Europe? Art is not dead, it has merely altered its course and this is where we must look for it. It no longer responds to the old.³⁶³

It was neither a question of changing the way of painting, nor of bringing Italian artistic culture up to date but of making a decisive shift toward real life. The manifesto *Futurist Reconstruction of the Universe* (1915) by Giacomo Balla and Fortunato Depero was an important source of inspiration for Munari. Balla and Depero encouraged artists to embrace and innovate using every sort of material, both organic and mechanised, to 'reconstruct the universe.'³⁶⁴ Munari envisaged materials and their use in the world in a similarly utopian way. The MAC manifesto can be seen as a prolongation of futurist ideas, judging by the emphasis on machines and industrial materials:

The artists should be interested in machines, abandon the romantic brushes, the dusty palette, the canvas; they have to start understanding the mechanical anatomy [...]. No more oil-colours, but hydro-flames, chemical reactions, chromium-plating, rust, anodic colouring, thermal alterations. No more canvas, but metal, plastic materials, rubber and synthetic composites.³⁶⁵

Interestingly, this time neo-Futurism linked up to progressive politics, rather than Fascist ideology.³⁶⁶ Whilst Munari did not question the relationship between art and capitalistic means of production he saw technology and industrialised mass production as an instrument of emancipation rather than alienation.³⁶⁷ He believed that 'the technological possibilities of our age allow everybody to produce

³⁶³ Bruno Munari. 1953. 'Mechanisation disintegralism total art organic art public danger' *Movimento Arte Concreta* (MAC), no.10 .reprinted in Tanchis 1987, p.71.

³⁶⁴ Giacomo Balla and Fortunato Depero. 1915. *Futurist Reconstruction of the Universe* (accession date: 12.013.2010), <http://www.unknown.nu/futurism/reconstruction.html>.

³⁶⁵ Bruno Munari. 1952. 'Manifesto del Macchinismo' in *Arte Concreta*, 10.

³⁶⁶ Kjetil Fallan. 2001. *Shaping Sense: Italian Post-War Functionalist Design* (unpublished thesis Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Trondheim), p. 47.

³⁶⁷ Pierpaolo Antonello. 2009. 'Beyond Futurism: Bruno Munari's Useless Machines,' printed in Günter Berghaus.2009. *Futurism and the Technological Imagination* (Editions Rodopi B.V.), P.328.

something with an aesthetic value.’³⁶⁸ If the Futurist idea of getting art into life was one of MAC’s imperatives, the impetus toward connecting up the varied strains of artistic practice relied on resurrecting the pre-war ‘synthesis of the arts,’ conjoined with a functionalist approach more redolent of Russian Constructivist ‘domestication’ of the avant-garde.

Paolozzi shared with Munari the intent to redeem the applied arts and give craftsmanship a new impetus. Paolozzi’s *Collage January to July*, *Collage Mural* and his screen-printed designs made to decorate the ceiling of the offices of civil engineer Ronald Jenkins in Charlotte Street, London (1952), correlate closely with Munari’s panel painting *Tempera on Paperboard* (1948) composed of a configuration of coloured taches (Figure 64).³⁶⁹ Paolozzi’s multitude of densely worked and overlapping gestural marks, like Munari’s range of lighter and darker blue painted taches, are not evidence of ethereal forms but a meditation on kinetic properties found in the natural world, such as the reflections of light on water.³⁷⁰ Paolozzi and Munari were not in pursuit of the metaphysical, even when their work appears at its most abstract; they always attempted to get art closer to life. Their expressive series of striations and dots mimic the new ways of seeing the world advanced by the camera and the microscope. The harmonic organisation of their respective painterly gestures into geometric patterns could be interpreted as decorative designs rather than works of fine art. It is as if both Paolozzi and Munari are exploring and defiling barriers between art and design.³⁷¹

Munari devoted much thought to what is and what is not art in texts such as *Design as Art* (1966). He ran into difficulties with art dealers who manifested a constant diffidence towards works that could in no way be described as examples of traditional painting or sculpture, his series of *Useless Machines* (1935–1945), in

³⁶⁸ Bruno Munari. 1971. printed in Paolo Fossati (ed.). *Codice ovvio* (Torino: Einaudi).

³⁶⁹ Paolozzi, Eduardo. 1953. Photographic negative of two unidentified collages, signed and dated, Tate Gallery Archive 9211/9/3/93, London.

³⁷⁰ Aldo Tanchis. 1987. *Bruno Munari: from Futurism to Post-Industrial Design* (London, Lund Humphries), p.62.

³⁷¹ Luca Zaffarano, 2012. ‘The Maximum with the Minimum’ published in Miroslava Hájek (ed.) *Bruno Munari: My Futurist Past* (Silvana), p.149-50.

particular, being objects intended to be hung from the ceiling like a chandelier (Figure 66).³⁷² Pierpaolo Antonello explains Munari's interchangeable roles as graphic artist, graphic designer, toy maker, furniture designer and many other roles besides, as being, 'in a nutshell', his response to the *Futurist Reconstruction of the Universe*.³⁷³ Paolozzi shared with Munari a willingness to use different and surprising materials to formal and functional ends. In 1954 Paolozzi's interest in printmaking and design was directed into a formal creative partnership with Nigel Henderson when they set up Hammer Prints, a decorative arts company which produced boldly-designed ceramics, wallpaper and textiles.³⁷⁴ In response to Balla's and Depero's instruction to erect a 'rotoplastic noise fountain,' Munari and Paolozzi went on to build several of them:³⁷⁵ Munari constructed fountains for the Venice Biennale of 1954, a large rotating one, with brightly coloured vertical blades, for the Fiera di Milano of 1955, and the *5 Drop Fountain* in Tokyo in 1965. Paolozzi's first commission for a fountain was for the 1951 Festival of Britain, after which he designed three fountains for a new park in Hamburg in 1953, and another in Cologne whilst he was professor at the University of Applied Sciences and Arts from 1977 to 1981 (Figure 67).³⁷⁶ No artist matches Paolozzi's prolific and diverse creative output more closely than Munari. The diversity and range of projects Munari engaged with, his insistence on converging art and design, and his keenness to make art relevant to all resonated closely with Paolozzi's vision.

Gillo Dorfles, another theorist of the MAC group, who devoted significant scholarship to exploring the complex relations between industrial design and traditional aesthetics, provides an important link between post-War Italy and Britain. Reyner Banham was close to the Milanese architects of the time and invited

³⁷² Pierpaolo Antonello. 2012. 'My Futurist Past, Present and Future' published in Miroslava Hájek (ed.) *Bruno Munari: My Futurist Past* (Silvana), p.100. Unlike Alexander Calder's mobiles, Munari's suspended art objects relate to the artist's exploration of the time-space continuum, and how a work of art that could interact with the environment and change accordingly.

³⁷³ Antonello 2009, p.325.

³⁷⁴ Chris Prater of kelp Studios talking to Pat Gilmour recounts some of Paolozzi's earliest forays into print making. June 2004. Transcript adapted for Tate Archive.

³⁷⁵ Balla and Depero 1915.

³⁷⁶ Antonello 2009, P.326.

Dorfles to speak in 1953 on the ‘contemporary point of view of the baroque,’ and two years later as ex-co-curator of the design section of the 1954 Milan Triennale on ‘The Aesthetics of Product Design’ at the ICA in London, in which he elaborated on his theories of an external standard of taste by which both objects of fine art and objects of good ‘non art’ could be judged.³⁷⁷ Dorfles used the figures of the Foro Mussolini as part of his argument to define kitsch; condemning Fascist sculptures as being the products of propaganda.³⁷⁸ His theories were later published in a double review published in *Domus* in January 1957, which he entitled ‘New Documents for a Synthesis in the Arts.’³⁷⁹ Establishing that Dorfles’s ideas were circulating amongst London’s avant-garde provides an alternative point of contact between Paolozzi and MAC’s post-War aesthetic practice. The exhibition *Parallel of Life and Art* (1953) at the ICA in London, spearheaded by Paolozzi and Henderson with the architects Alison and Peter Smithson (1928–1993 and 1923–2003) and Ronald Jenkins, a civil engineer, attempted to move toward a similarly inclusive and democratic position in relation to the arts.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁷ Gillo Dorfles. 1968. *Kitsch: the World of Bad Taste* (Studio Vista, Ltd., New York: Universe), p.82.

³⁷⁸ The Fascist representation of the classical body conveys clear political messages of quasi-religious importance through qualities of sensuality and structure that pertain to the decisions of the Fascist citizen’s daily life.

³⁷⁹ Dorfles, Gillo. 1999. ‘Capriole lessicali’ in Finessi 1999: 192.

³⁸⁰ For an overview of the objectives and activities of the Independent Group read David Robbins (ed.). 1990. *The Independent Group: Post-war Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London).

1.22 Parallel of Life and Art: 'Getting Art into Life'

The Veracity of the camera is proverbial, but nearly all proverbs take a one-led view of life. Truth may be stranger than fiction, but many of the camera's statements are stronger than truth itself. We tend to forget that every photograph is an artefact, a document recording forever a momentary construction based on reality. Instantaneous, it mocks the monumental; timeless, it monumentalises the grotesque.

(Reyner Banham. 1953. *Parallel of Art and Life* reprinted in Mellor, David, 'A Glorious Techni-culture in Nineteen Fifties Britain,' David Robbins (ed.). 1990. *The Independent Group*, p.130-1)

The *Parallel of Life and Art* exhibition brought together 122 photographic panels from a range of media, including newspapers, archaeological studies and scientific photomicrographs, as well as fine art (Figure 68).³⁸¹ The exhibitors, unrestrained by walls and capable of making innumerable reproductions, used photography to gather things from far and wide, bringing together works of art that could not otherwise be assembled.³⁸² Rather than simply putting together collections of treasures and masterpieces, they went beyond the traditional parameters of cultural institutions, bringing together decorative objects and items produced by non-Western cultures. The ICA press release for the exhibition explained:

In this exhibition an encyclopaedic range of material from past and present is brought together through the medium of the camera which is used as recorder, reporter, and scientific investigator. As recorder of nature objects, works of art, architecture and technics; as reporter of human events the images of which sometimes come to have a power of expression and plastic organisation analogous to the symbol in art; and as scientific investigator extending the visual scale and range, by use of enlargements, X rays, wide angle lens, high speed aerial photography. The editors of this exhibition...have selected more than a hundred images of significance for them. These have been ranged in categories suggested by the material which underline a common visual denominator independent of the field from which they image is taken. There is no single simple aim in this procedure. No watertight scientific or philosophical system is demonstrated. In short it

³⁸¹ *Parallel of Life and Art*. 31 August 1953. exhibition catalogue. (Institute of Contemporary Arts, London), u.p.

³⁸² Victoria Walsh. 2001. *Nigel Henderson: Parallel of Life and Art* (London: Thames and Hudson), p. 10.

forms a poetic-lyrical order where images create a series of cross-relationships.³⁸³

With its complex and unorthodox hang, in which images were displayed at different heights and angles, the *Parallel of Life and Art* exhibition, as Victoria Walsh has pointed out, aimed not simply to disrupt conventional ideas about what *is* and *is not* art but also challenged how an exhibition should look,³⁸⁴ in so doing encouraging a new form of aesthetic to emerge which sought to mirror the contemporary environment. It is clear that cross fertilisations between the 'Left' and the 'Right' are present, but fundamentally they both emphasized the social role of art and the relevance of industrial production.

Untitled (Study for Parallel of Life and Art) (1952), a collaborative work by Paolozzi and Nigel Henderson, addresses issues at the heart of the exhibition (Figure 69). The work consists of a large rectangular panel onto which an assemblage of black and white photographs has been fixed in two parallel rows. The upper row made by Henderson represents 'life' and consists of twelve images and features several negative prints, including one of a boy kicking a football, and another of boys bathing, a distorted photograph of a man's compressed face, and a warped image of a motorcycle; Paolozzi's lower row, representing 'art,' is an assembly of thirteen photographs of the artist's sculptures and reliefs in plaster and terracotta taken by Henderson. The artists visually play out the convergences between these two worlds of 'life' and 'art' by transforming 'real' traces of urban 'life' into abstract patterns, and metamorphosing works of 'art' into the rhythms and textures found in the world. Henderson, whom Lawrence Alloway called 'the John Betjeman of the junk pile' because of his photographic experimentation in the darkroom metamorphosing humble objects or every day activities into new visions, used technological advances to merge life with art.³⁸⁵ Lawrence Alloway was quick to perceive Henderson's reliance on Moholy-Nagy's innovations in photography for

³⁸³ *Parallel of Life and Art* 1953, u.p.

³⁸⁴ Walsh 2001, p.11-12.

³⁸⁵ Lawrence Alloway. 1966. 'The Development of British Pop,' in Robin Spencer (ed.). 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi Writings and Interviews* (Oxford University Press), p.27.

creating new ways of seeing.³⁸⁶ Henderson moved between photographic techniques, such as the photogram (which he referred to as a 'Hendogram' –a play on May Ray's Rayograms), to create enlarged images of coiled string and wire; extreme close-ups to mimic views from a microscope, and distressing processes using 'coffee grains and spit' to capture the markings, textures, and grid-like patterns in the urban environment to highlight how worldly things could be transformed into something less familiar and more abstract which looked like art.³⁸⁷

Paolozzi's description of 'art' conversely attempts to simulate the textures and surfaces of things found in life. The photographs which make up Paolozzi's half of *Untitled (Study for Parallel of Life and Art)* depict an edited montage of recent works: two versions of his *Study for a Larger Version in Concrete* (1951) share the space on the lower left, whilst portions of Paolozzi's screen printed pattern produced for the ceiling of the offices of civil engineer Ronald Jenkins in Charlotte Street, London (1952) take centre place. Finally, two views of the fountain that Paolozzi designed for the Festival of Britain (1951) appear on the right. The heterogeneity of Paolozzi's projects – examples of public art commissions, interior design, and *objets d'art* – are all brought together under the umbrella of a common project. These sculptures and wall-hanging designs, decorated with abstracted, frieze-like designs have been taken by Henderson.³⁸⁸ By reducing these three-dimensional works to two-dimensions via the photographic medium, the all-over patterns of the sculpted objects resonate as artificial markings when juxtaposed with Henderson's photographs. Through their coordination and presentation of this multi-media work Paolozzi and Henderson convey a unification of sculpture, design and photography, and encourage art to become relevant to life, dramatising in summary form the underlying themes and motivations of the exhibition as a whole.

³⁸⁶ Moholy's teachings were first printed in English in a 1935 edition of the *Architectural Review*, in an article written by Herbert Read on 'A New Humanism.' They became more widely available when *Vision in Motion* was published in English in 1947.

³⁸⁷ Alloway 1966, p.27.

³⁸⁸ Eduardo Paolozzi. c 1952. Photographic negatives showing interior views of Roland Jenkins office Charlotte Street taken by Nigel Henderson, Tate Gallery Archive. Reference: 9211/9/3/85-88, London.

David Sylvester viewed with scepticism the sea of images which filled the tiny room at the ICA.³⁸⁹ He referred to the exhibition's cacophonous and jarring juxtapositions as being of 'consummate inconsequentiality,' failing to perceive any underlying logic unifying the selected exhibits.³⁹⁰ More recently, Alex Kitnick has continued to interpret the exhibitors' selection as theoretically arbitrary; perceiving the exhibitions curators to be 'victims of visuality.'³⁹¹ Kitnick suggests the curators of *Parallel of Art and Life* wanted to recreate the sense of being overwhelmed by the vast array of images filling popular consciousness.³⁹² Reyner Banham, however, reporting contemporaneously on the exhibition, was quick to recognise one unifying characteristic of the exhibits:

Thus, between a head carved in porous whalebone by an Eskimo and the section of a plant stem from Thornton's *Vegetable Anatomy*, there is no connection whatsoever except their community of outline and surface texture (even matrix of alveolus with symmetrically disposed roughly lenticular irruptions) in photographic reproduction. They come from societies and technologies almost unimaginably different, *and yet to camera-eyed Western man the visual equivalence is unmistakable and perfectly convincing.*³⁹³

Pulled out of their original locations, blown up, rearranged, and with any text that may have previously accompanied them removed, the exhibits in *Parallel of Art and Life* were undoubtedly modified as a result of the new company they kept. Reproduced in black and white, they were pictured as part of a common system increasing the visibility textuality played in connecting their varied subjects. It will be argued that the selection of exhibits were anything but arbitrary, and employed materiality to respond to a specific set of economic and political conditions.

³⁸⁹ David Sylvester. 1953. 'Round the London Art Galleries,' *The Listener* (September 24), p. 512.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁹¹ Alex Kitnick. Spring 2011. 'The Brutalism of Art and Life,' *OCTOBER* 136 (MIT Press), p.80.

³⁹² Kitnick 2011, p.80.

³⁹³ Reyner Banham. October 1953. 'Parallel of Life and Art,' *Architectural Review* 114, p. 260.

1.23 **Destroy the Picture: Alberto Burri and Art Informel**

[His] material is...an intermediary of corruptibility, but also a germinating action, one that in his individual choice is realised as necessary for creative liberation, of the total conscience of the self.

(Toni Toniato. 1958. 'Burri' reprinted in exhibition catalogue
Evento Critica delle Arti e cronaca 2)

The rough-hewn textures evinced in the photographs of forest fires, steam engines, microbes, racing finishes, and exercise sessions – either through the subject or through the photographic technique employed to convey the subject – displayed alongside reproductions of works by Alberto Burri, Jean Dubuffet, Paul Klee, and a Hans Namuth photograph of a Jackson Pollock painting, all invoke the abstract and expressionist tendencies of *Art Informel*. The term was first coined in 1951 by the French art critic Michel Tapié to describe the improvisation practised by a number of painters at his Paris exhibition entitled 'Un Art Autre' (Art of Another Kind).³⁹⁴ The term became synonymous with art that bore no predefined form or structure, and, as a post-War movement, it predominated across Europe and in the New York School.³⁹⁵ Its proponents sought to escape the constraints of traditional artistic form by rejecting rational compositional techniques and emphasising the process of artistic creation. In 1959, Dorflès suggested that although *Informel* painting appeared superficially abstract, it was, in fact, a 'new figuration.'³⁹⁶ Dorflès believed that the expressive technique revealed the 'inner formative will of man.'³⁹⁷ Paolozzi's preference for tearing, building and eroding surfaces, apparent in both his collage and his relief sculpture photographed in *Parallel of Art and Life*, resonate closely with the tendencies of Italian *Art Informel*. More particularly, the works photographed for the exhibition evince similarities with the layered, distressed, stained and incised surfaces of Burri's *Sacchi*, an example of which was included in the exhibition. Burri first used burlap sacks as canvas for his 'Still Life and Landscape' paintings whilst a

³⁹⁴ For more on the history usage of these terms, see Simon Groom. 1999. *An Art Autre: Michael Tapié and the Informel Adventure in France, Japan, and Italy* (Ph.D. diss., Courtauld Institute of Art) pp.20 - 28.

³⁹⁵ Participants included artists Karel Appel, Alberto Burri, Willem De Kooning, Jean Dubuffet, Jean Fautrier, Georges Mathieu, Jean-Paul Riopelle, and Wols, along with Henri Michaux, Hans Hartung and Pierre Soulages

³⁹⁶ Gillo Dorflès. March 1957. 'Communication and Symbol in the Work of Art,' *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Wiley-Blackwell), p. 291.

³⁹⁷ Dorflès 1957, p. 292.

prisoner of World War II.³⁹⁸ Captured by the Allies in 1942 and kept at Hereford, Texas, for three years, until spring 1946, he started painting with the encouragement of the YMCA volunteers visiting the camp. When he returned to Italy, he continued to use the sacks he had brought back from Texas to paint on. It was 'the glaring, almost deafening silence around the sources of Burri's materials,' as Jaimey Hamilton eloquently puts it, which is 'the greatest indication that a traumatic geopolitical present' was driving the performative aesthetics of Italian *Informel*.³⁹⁹

Enrico Crispolti wrote a short essay for an exhibition of Alberto Burri's *Sacchi* in 1957 that asserted the artist's relationship with post-War European painters such as Wols and Jean Fautrier (Figure 70).⁴⁰⁰ In 'National Style and the Agenda for Abstract Painting in Post-War Italy,' Marcia Vetrocq elaborates on the paradox of using an affiliation with an international art movement such as *Art Informel* to communicate national concerns.⁴⁰¹ Putting these complexities to one side, what is clear is that Prampolini funded artists' trips to Paris and organised annual exhibitions of Italian artists working in the *Informel* idiom. This cross-fertilisation of Italy with France extended Prampolini's own concept of polymaterialism, which he first formulated in 1944, and opened out the language of post-War Italian abstraction. Burri's use of burlap is not so much a metaphor for war wounds, physical or mental, as has often been suggested, as the embodiment of an impoverished Italy. Maurizio Calvesi, a prominent critic and art historian, compellingly suggests Italy was suffering as a result of being controlled by the cultural and economic neo-Imperialism of the US Marshall Plan.⁴⁰² He argues Burri was celebrating poverty as an indignant response to American paternalism, a 'protest against the outrage of wealth.'⁴⁰³ By 1945, the retail price of food in Rome was thirty-three times its pre-War price.⁴⁰⁴ In this new economy, sacks of wheat were imported from the US, the proof of which is stamped

³⁹⁸ Jaimey Hamilton.2008. 'Making Art Matter: Alberto Burri's *Sacchi*,' *October* no.124 (MIT Press), p.37

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Enrico Crispolti. (1957)1968. *Ricerche dopo l'Informale* (Rome: Officina).

⁴⁰¹ Marcia Vetrocq. December 1989. 'National Style and the Agenda for Abstract Painting in Post-War Italy,' *Art History* 12, no. 4, pp. 448 - 471.

⁴⁰² Maurizio Calvesi.1974. *Burri*, trans., Robert Wolf (New York: Abrams), p.13.

⁴⁰³ Calvesi 1974, p.13.

⁴⁰⁴ John Harper.1986. *America and the Reconstruction of Italy, 1945 – 1948* (London: Cambridge University Press. 1986), p.45.

on Burri's *SZI* (1949) and *Sacco e Verde* (1956). Burri's *sacchi* verify Italy's post-war poverty, whilst also confirming the excess of American wealth accrued through overproduction.⁴⁰⁵ Better understanding the potency of meaning being conveyed by the physical materiality of Burri's *Sacchi* suggests Paolozzi's insistence on textural diversity might also be related to his reflections on post-War austerity. Whist his Pop collage, such as *Real Gold* and *Yours til the Boys Come Home*, which employ distressed popular culture imagery, are assertive of hostility for America's affluence, his more abstract rough-and-ready works, such as *Collage Mural* and *Untitled (Parallel of Art and Life)*, more naturally fall into the category of *Art Informel* meditating on the post-War recessionary climate.

1.24 An Architecture of Anti-Fascist Intent

The matrix of string, creating a kind of 'architecture of images' between the various exhibits in the *Parallel of Art and Life* exhibition invokes further comparison with Italian avant-garde experimentation.⁴⁰⁶ Whilst Alex Kitnick has compared this practice with Duchamp's 1938 *International Surrealist Exhibition*, in which the gallery space was shot through with string, the instalment of the web interlinking one exhibit with another is identifiably more considered.⁴⁰⁷ The powerful negative shapes that the web creates in space relates more closely to the white lattice structure first used by Persico and Nizzoli in the Fascist exhibition *Esposizione dell'aeronautica Italiana* (1934) which has been referred to earlier in this chapter (Figure 71).⁴⁰⁸ Persico and Nizzoli's installation at this exhibition celebrating Italian prowess in aviation, held in Muzio's Palazzo dell'Arte, consisted of a slender metal lattice painted white, on which were delicately hung black and white photographs of the fallen heroes of aviation, along with a few explanatory notes on text panels. The disembodied lattice motif and the suspension of photographs within it was

⁴⁰⁵ Hamilton 2008, p.48.

⁴⁰⁶ Beatriz Colomina uses the term in spring 2004 in relation to *Parallel of Life and Art* in her essay 'Unbreathed Air 1956.' *Grey Room* 15 (MIT Press), p.34.

⁴⁰⁷ Kitnick 2011, P.73.

⁴⁰⁸ For an introduction to the exhibition, see pp. 31-2 for more information.

immediately imitated by the best Italian architect and designer firms such as those of Franco Albini and Studio BBPR, and became a staple of Italian design.⁴⁰⁹

After the War, white lattice became a symbol of anti-fascism, chosen in 1946 by the BBPR for their design of the monument to the victims of the concentration camps in Milan's Cimitero Monumentale (Figure 72).⁴¹⁰ The contrast of its use in two such different contexts is what made it poignant: initially decorating military aeronautical heroes, more latterly memorialising the martyrs of the death camps. Key to the BBPR monument's abstract design, which has garnered attention in a large body of literature and which suggestively connects the monument with *Parallel of Art and Life*, is its composite of 'poor' quality materials.⁴¹¹ Reacting against Fascism's idealised rhetoric and Futurism's perfectly smooth aerodynamic forms, the BBPR invert the aspirational language of totalitarianism, dramatised in *Esposizione dell'aeronautica Italiana*, to create a voice for the free world. The white lattice motif was chosen again in 1951 by Pietro Lingeri, Giovanna Pericoli and Mario Radice, for the memorial to four of Italy's best known Rationalist architects – Raffaele Giolli, Pagano, Perisico, and Guieseppe Terragni – at the 9th Triennale.⁴¹² The architectural bias of the curators of *Parallel of Art and Life* – Alison and Peter Smithson and Ronald Jenkins – together with Henderson and Paolozzi's dependence on densely textured surfaces, strongly implies that the origins of the exhibition's design was considered as much in relation to the exploits of the avant-garde of the 'Right' as it was to that of the 'Left,' and with political, rather than peripheral formalist intent.

⁴⁰⁹ Romy Golan. 2009. *Muralnomad: The Paradox of Wall Painting, Europe 1927 – 1957* (Yale University Press, New Haven & London), pp. 100-1.

⁴¹⁰ On this monument see Ulrike Jehle-Schulte Strathaus and Bruno Reichlin. 1995. *BBPR Monumento ai caduti nei campi nazisti 1945-1995: Il segno della memoria* (Milan: Electa), p.18. BBPR stands for the name of an architectural firm. The acronym was created from each member's family name, the partners were: Gianluigi Banfi (1910-1945), Lodovico Barbiano di Belgiojoso (1909-2004), Enrico Peressutti (1908-1976), and Ernesto Nathan Rogers (1909-1968).

⁴¹¹ Romy Golan. 2009. *Muralnomad: The Paradox of Wall Painting, Europe 1927 – 1957* (Yale University Press, New Haven & London), p.86

⁴¹² Jeffrey T. Shnapp. Winter 2004. *The Monument without Style (On the Hundredth Anniversary of Giuseppe Terragni's Birth*, Grey Room, No. 18 (MIT Press), p.23.

Paolozzi's fountain installed at the South Bank exhibition for the celebration of the Festival of Britain in 1951 continues to recycle and invert the language of forms borrowed from Italian modernism. Whilst the structure of intersecting verticals and horizontals of the frame continue to reference Persico and Nizzoli's lattice motif, the cuplike forms captured within the fountain are reminiscent of Lucio Fontana's four painted plaster reliefs of winged deities pulled by fantastic maritime animals positioned within the 1937 *Padiglione galleggiante delle compagnie di navigazione Italia* (Floating Pavilion of the Italian Steamship Companies) (Figure 73). The Italian pavilion for the Paris International Exhibition was designed by the architect and designer firm BBPR, headed by Luigi Banfi, Ludovico Belgiojoso, Enrico Peressutti, and Ernesto Nathan Rogers.⁴¹³ The poetic vision brought together Fontana's flying reliefs hoisted high up on tensile metal cables attached to mast-like poles representing flight, with a moored barge on the river Seine publicising ocean liner travel onto which the cables were fastened. Paolozzi's reliance on Fontana's repertoire of shapes and forms has been touched upon earlier when tracing the origins of Paolozzi's incorporation of the symbol of the Winged Victory, but in what follows compelling examples of Fontana's ceramics, 'Spatial Concepts' and neons present fresh avenues for interpreting Paolozzi's expressive output in the late 1940s and 1950s. With lives scripted from the same transitory period in Italian history, Fontana, like Paolozzi, experienced an expectant life under Fascism and emerged on the 'other' side with reformed views. Also an émigré, Fontana was raised by Italian parents in Rosario de Santé Fe, Argentina. His father took Fontana back to Italy to follow in his footsteps of becoming a master sculptor.⁴¹⁴ It was whilst undertaking the rigours of an education in architecture, engineering and the visual arts at the Istituto tecnico Carlo Cattaneo, the Brera Academy and Scuola superior di arti applicate all'industria, that Fontana became interested in Futurism. After enlisting

⁴¹³ Golan 2009, p.86.

⁴¹⁴ For an account of Fontana's early life read Pia Gottschaller. 2012. *Lucio Fontana: The Artist's Materials* (J. Paul Getty Trust)

in the Italian Army in 1916 and seeing action, Fontana, like many of the Italian avant-garde, became an avid follower of Mussolini.⁴¹⁵

1.25 Paolozzi and Fontana: from the Sublime to the Kitsch

For the first time anywhere, we Spatialists are broadcasting, through the medium of television, our new forms of art, which are based on concepts of space as seen from a twofold point of view.

(Lucio Fontana, Alberto Burri, Roberta Crippa, Ludovico Deluigi, Louis De Toffli, Lazzaro Donati, Gianni Dova, Virgilio Guidi, Benjamino Joppolo, Milena Milani, and Cesare Peverelli, 'The Manifesto of the Spatialist Movement for Television' reprinted in Sarah Whitfield. 1999. *Lucio Fontana*. (University of California Press, Berkley and the Hayward Gallery)

Paolozzi's display of six sculptures and sixteen bas-reliefs at London's Hanover Gallery in February 1950, which, as the critic Herbert Read put it, displayed 'a scorn of bourgeois finish' further correspond with Fontana's work, namely his loosely moulded ceramics of late 1930s and 40s.⁴¹⁶ Made out of sandy, textured plaster Paolozzi's works have been variously interpreted as futuristic or alien phenomena.⁴¹⁷ One critic lucidly described the reliefs to be like 'an archaeological excavation seen from the air,'⁴¹⁸ others convinced themselves that they were like remains that spoke of a distant world. The ceramics made by Fontana had been greeted with similar incomprehension. Fontana's evident enjoyment of plunging his hands into clay, squeezing, caressing and violating it as though it were flesh, is not dissimilar, as Jeremy Lewison has pointed out, from de Kooning's obvious delight in feel and touch in such a painting as *Untitled VI* (1977).⁴¹⁹ The ceramic sculptures can at times appear fluid or protoplasmic, as though the sculpture is still in formation. The poet Raffaele Carrieri likened Fontana's papier-mâché reliefs to 'the bones of a calcified dinosaur or the dorsal spine of a mammoth,' and his ceramics to

⁴¹⁵ Ibid, p.9.

⁴¹⁶ Emilio Gentile. 2000. 'Political Futurism and the Myth of the Italian Revolution' in Günther Berghaus (ed.) *International Futurism in Arts and Literature* (Walter de Gruyter & Co.), p.8.

⁴¹⁷ Sarah Whitfield. 1999. *Lucio Fontana*. (University of California Press, Berkley and the Hayward Gallery), p.17. Fontana used grès, an unrefined form of clay requiring sintering temperatures as high as 980 degrees Celsius.

⁴¹⁸ Review of Paolozzi's Hanover Gallery by Maurice Collis. March 4, 1950. 'Art,' *Time and Tide*, p. 209.

⁴¹⁹ Jeremy Lewison. Oct., 1996. 'Fontana. Frankfurt and Vienna,' *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 138, No. 1123, pp. 704.

'debris from a catastrophic geological disruption.'⁴²⁰ In a late interview, Fontana recollected making these ceramics:

...after the aquarium and the mineral flowers I made portrait heads, masks, metamorphoses. People called my ceramics primeval. The materials look as if it had been hit by an earthquake, yet it was motionless. I left Albisola for the Sevres Factory and made more shells, rocks, polyps and extraordinary imaginary animals...⁴²¹

Whilst Fontana's marine forms were entitled names such as *Seashells* (1936) and *Crab* (1936), Paolozzi's reliefs similarly describe particular sea life forms such as *Squid* (1948), *Fish* (1948) and *Land and Sea* (1949) (Figure 74 and 75). David Sylvester apprehended the experience of viewing Paolozzi's reliefs to be like entering a 'submarine world,' in which, he said, 'we do not swim, but pick our way through a maze of things and creatures at the bottom of the sea.'⁴²²

Three of Paolozzi's sculptural 'artefacts,' as one reviewer accurately described them, were included in the British Pavilion at the 1952 Venice Biennale.⁴²³ *Study for a larger version in concrete* (1951), alongside *Bird*, and *Forms on a Bow*, both 1950, were the first works of Paolozzi's to appear in an international context (Figure 76). Whilst the later two sculptures can be readily explained by the artist's exposure to the work of Giacometti, *Study for a larger version* was included in Michel Tapié's 1952 publication accompanying the exhibition *Un art autre*, and was purchased by the Museum of Modern Art, New York later that year (Figure 76). Its rock-like form with strange carvings and markings, reminding John Paul Stonard of the Mayan Zoomorphs from Quirigua, those great unquarried sandstone boulders carved with animal motifs.⁴²⁴ Paolozzi explained these surface inscriptions as representing 'the world of sea life.'⁴²⁵ Sylvester described his encounter with Paolozzi's *Study for a larger version* in blatantly physical terms, writing that 'a picture or sculpture of this kind is devoid

⁴²⁰ Raffaele Carrieri. 1962. *L. Fontana* (New York: Galleria dell'Ariete, Milan), p.3.

⁴²¹ Lucio Fontana. 21 Sept. 1939. 'La Mia Ceramica,' *Tempo* in Whitfield 1999, p.75.

⁴²² David Sylvester. 1950. *Kenneth King, Eduardo Paolozzi, William Turnbull*, exh. cat. (London: Hanover Gallery), n.p.

⁴²³ Collis 1950, p.209.

⁴²⁴ Stonard 2010, p.25.

⁴²⁵ Eduardo Paolozzi, Oral History, interviewed by Frank Whitford, 1993-5, British Library.

of a focal point, and the spectator reads it, not by confronting it as a scene detached from himself, but by entering it and moving about in it.’⁴²⁶ Banham was similarly bemused but enthralled by Paolozzi’s ‘heavily wrought plaster objects,’ describing *Study for a larger version in concrete* as a ‘carbuncular, pocked with sinister pits,’ which was ‘most suggestive of a subversive, autonomous, non-human life.’⁴²⁷

Endowed with a materiality at odds with the typically exalted status of the art object, Paolozzi’s *Study for a larger version* – corresponding with concurrent activities in textile design and screen-printing – refused easy categorisation. Whilst Paolozzi’s work might have appeared alien to the British art scene, his ceramic work finds kinship with the tumultuous writhing forms apparent in Fontana’s ceramic *Battle* series (1947 to 1949). Fontana’s surging abstract forms, executed as exercises in which the artist said he ‘searched and studied form, the form of expression,’ dramatise violence (Figure 77).⁴²⁸ Daring, aggressive and provocative in spirit, they seem to embody Marinetti’s principle that, ‘beauty exists only through struggle.’⁴²⁹ It is unclear whether Fontana intended the battles being played out as between artist and clay, or mediations on recent and historic conflicts.⁴³⁰ Far from being meditations on the glories of conflict, a subject epitomised by monolithic neo-classical sculptures he made of polished white marble under Mussolini in the 1930s, the battle series undermines vain-glorious propaganda. Fontana’s works concentrate on the visceral energies exchanged in combat and present black and ravaged veneers suggestively similar to Paolozzi’s *Study for a larger version*, which are hauntingly premonitory of nuclear fallout. It was through Fontana’s experimental use of ceramics that he developed his ‘Spatial’ ideas; of particular

⁴²⁶ Sylvester 1950, n.p.

⁴²⁷ Reyner Banham. Jan. 12, 1952. ‘A Man and His Objects,’ *Art News and Review*, p. 5. In the same year, *Study* was also reproduced in Michel Tapié’s anthology *Un Art autre* (Paris: Gimpel Fils, 1952).

⁴²⁸ Eduardo Paolozzi, Oral History, interviewed by Frank Whitford, 1993-5, British Library.

⁴²⁹ F.T. Marinetti. 20 Feb. 1909 First Futurist Manifesto, *Figaro* in Günter Berghaus, ‘The Foundation of Futurism’ (1909), *Critical Writings* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006) and R.W. Flint, *Marinetti: Selected Writings*, London 1972, p.109.

⁴³⁰ Gottschaller 2012, p.23-4.

importance were the five large Spatial friezes in ceramic Fontana executed in 1947 for the building designed by architects Zanuso and Menghi in Milan.⁴³¹

Paolozzi's *Unknown Political Prisoner* (1952), one of five British sculptors' entries to be selected to represent Britain in an international sculpture competition, is a response to the brief of memorialising the oppressed (Figure 78).⁴³² Composed of five standing stones, reminiscent of ancient relics, covered in scrawled, indented and etched patterns, the work is visionary and at the same time commemorative. Its series of vertical megaliths invoke sites of ancient religious ceremonies, which appropriately – given the nature of the commission – often contained burial chambers, providing a fitting place to meditate on the loss of victims of war, whilst its minimalist language of pared-down forms incised with machine age markings – like Naum Gabo's innovatory entry – anticipates a utopian technological future.⁴³³ From a Cold War perspective, the dialectic presented by Paolozzi's *Unknown Political Prisoner* epitomises debates between memory versus amnesia; the past versus the future.⁴³⁴ The work's emphasis on originality and uniqueness has been formulated to distinguish Western 'free' society from its Soviet and Fascist neighbours.⁴³⁵ Andrei Zhdanov, responsible for the formulation of Soviet socialist realism in 1934, became the spokesperson at the first Cominform conference in 1947. His 'two camp' theory, one 'imperialist and anti-democratic,' the other 'anti-imperialist and democratic' quickly extended to the arts.⁴³⁶ Paolozzi's *Unknown*

⁴³¹ Whitfield 1999, p.60.

⁴³² 14 March-30 April 1953. *The Unknown Political Prisoner* (Tate Gallery). See Robert Burstow. December, 1989. 'Butler's competition project for a monument to 'The Unknown Political Prisoner'? Abstraction and Cold War politics,' *Art History*, vol. 12 no. 4, pp 472-496; Joan Marter. Winter, 1994. 'The Ascendancy of Abstraction for Public Art: The Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner Competition,' *Art Journal*, Vol. 53, No. 4, Sculpture in Postwar Europe and America, 1945-59, pp. 28-36.

⁴³³ Marter 1994, p.28.

⁴³⁴ Sarah Wilson.1995. *From Monuments to Fast Cars: aspects of Cold War art, 1946-57* (The Courtauld Institute), unpublished, p.2.

⁴³⁵ Christine Lindey.1990. *Art in the Cold War – from Vladivostok to Kalamazoo, 1945-1962* (The Herbert Press), p.8.

⁴³⁶ A. A. Zhdanov: 'On the International Situation', in Giuliano Proccacci et al., *The Cominform. Minutes of the three conferences, 1947, 1948, 1949*, Fondazioni Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, Milan, 1994, with the Russian Centre of Conservation and Study of Records for Modern History (RT sKhIDNI), p 225 (reproduced in *Cahiers du Communisme*, November 1947, p. 1150). Surprisingly, the term 'socialist realism' does not occur in the minutes of these Cominform sessions.

Political Prisoner is in-keeping with predominant Western post World War II artistic trends which advocated 'free' expression against Soviet and Fascist repression.⁴³⁷

The strange lunar inscriptions covering the surfaces of *Unknown Political Prisoner*, which on first approach appear abstract, can be explained by aerial views mapping the shapes and patterns of the earth below. Munari's *Abstract Composition* (1948), composed from a grid-like series of geometric forms and circles, has been similarly conceived via photographs taken from the air. The dots, pits and craters which appear on its surfaces and reappear as patterns in wall hangings and bas reliefs can also be explained as describing earthly phenomena. Paolozzi uses machine age detritus to mechanically indent the surfaces of objects into the surfaces of the exterior of *Unknown Political Prisoner*, in a manner consistent with Fontana's *Concetto Spaziale*. Fontana published his first and second manifestoes of Spatialism in 1948 (Figure 79):

Our intention is not to abolish the art of the past, however, nor to put a stop to life: we want painting to emerge from its frame and sculpture from its glass case. An expression of aerial art that lasts a minute yet appears to last for a millennium, into eternity.⁴³⁸

Anthony White makes a persuasive case for the role new photographic techniques and film played in informing Fontana's practice.⁴³⁹ From the time of his earliest Spatialist paintings, Fontana's surfaces animated with holes (and later with slashes), are aligned into vortexes, concentric circles, constellations and galaxies. These patterns of holes simultaneously refer to stratospheric, cosmological concerns and to microcosmic earthly ones. ⁴⁴⁰ *Concetto Spaziale* was based on Fontana's 'White Manifesto' of 1946, in which he addressed the role of technology and science in new art forms what Fontana called the 'pure aerial image,' 'artificial forms, rainbows of

⁴³⁷ Christine Lindey explores the complexities and dialogues between the art of the 'free' world and that made under repressive regimes in *Art in the Cold War – from Vladivostok to Kalamazoo, 1945-1962* (The Herbert Press), 1990.

⁴³⁸ Lucio Fontana. 18 March 1948 reprinted in Whitfield 1999, p.97.

⁴³⁹ Anthony White. Winter 2009, 'TV and Not TV: Lucio Fontana's Luminous Images in Movement,' *Grey Room* (MIT Press), No. 34, p.17. Fontana's cuts share the indexical character of the photograph. Significantly, Fontana wrote enthusiastically of the photogram the year that his hole paintings were first exhibited.

⁴⁴⁰ Gottschaller 2012, p.14.

wonder,' 'luminous writing,' and radio and television airwaves.⁴⁴¹ He stated that the free development of colour form in real space would pave the way for an art that would transcend the area of the canvas in order to become an integral part of architecture.⁴⁴² The purest expression of the hole, if it is to be interpreted in accordance with Fontana's use of the motif, celebrates Einstein's advances in science in his Theory of Relativity by attempting to simulate the experience of creating the fourth dimension.⁴⁴³ Paolozzi is similarly responding to new ways of seeing created by advances in science and technology. He looks to the basic cellular matter of the universe, now visible to the eye through the use of the microscope, to construct new realities, the aerial view to find new perspectives, and television and radio to relay new truths.⁴⁴⁴

Paolozzi's three-dimensional artwork *The Cadge* (1951), a totemic structure created from a network of tangled linear lines mimicking the appearance of drawing in space, once more parallels Fontana's multi-media practice (Figure 80). *The Cadge* appears to have been conceptualised at the same point in Paolozzi's career that he was most heavily engaged with making collage and textile designs. The rhythms of dots and dashes correspond to the lines and joins in the sculpture, while the horizontal wing forms echo the structure itself.⁴⁴⁵ *The Cadge*, betraying an indeterminate artistic identity and function, was Included in the ground-breaking exhibition of new sculpture at the 1952 Venice Biennale. It has been compared with the work of other contemporaneous British sculptors Robert Adams, Kenneth Armitage, Reg Butler and Lynn Chadwick, and has to date more generally been embedded in neo-Surrealist discourse.⁴⁴⁶ Whilst its linear forms lend themselves to comparison with the early sculpture of Alberto Giacometti, they more obviously reference Fontana's debunking and unhinging of symmetry, proportion and modernist conceits that had been allowed to survive for a significant portion of

⁴⁴¹ Fontana 18 March 1948, p.97.

⁴⁴² Frank Den Ouden. 2011. *Space. Time. Narrative: The Exhibition as Post-Spectacular Stage* (Ashgate), p.455.

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ Lewison Oct., 1996, p.705.

⁴⁴⁵ Ann Jones. 1993. *Eduardo Paolozzi* (Arts Council Publication), leaflet.

⁴⁴⁶ Spencer 2000, p. xi.

Mussolini's regime. Lucio Fontana's neon whiplash strewn across the ceiling above the grand staircase of Muzio's Palazzo delle Arti – which had remained the principal building for the displays of the Triennale – at the 9th Triennale Milan in 1951, provides a compelling precedent for Paolozzi's free-form structure (Figure 81). Fontana's conceit was, as Romy Golan points out, a reprise of an extraordinary installation he had made two years earlier, in 1949, for the space of one of the most avant-garde galleries in Milan, *Il Naviglio*.⁴⁴⁷ His flirtation with kitsch, as Antony White has convincingly argued, can be read as a challenge to orthodox modernist taste.⁴⁴⁸ The positioning of the neon replaced the exact spot where Sironi's back-lit mosaic mural *Fascist Labor* (1936) had been installed at the 6th Milan Triennale demonstrating the artist's attempt to depoliticize the space which had been used to project an image of propaganda.⁴⁴⁹ Paolozzi's *The Cadge*, as the title suggests, similarly meditates on entrapment suggestively relating the work to Fascist oppression. Its formless and uneven weight-bearing structure undermines the principles of order and harmony on which Fascist society was built.

⁴⁴⁷ Romy Golan.2009. *Muralnomad: The Paradox of Wall Painting, Europe 1927 – 1957* (Yale University Press, New Haven & London), p.230.

⁴⁴⁸ Anthony White. Oct.2001. 'Lucio Fontana: Between Utopia and Kitsch,' *Grey Room*, no.5, p.45-77.

⁴⁴⁹ Golan 2009, p.230.

1.26 Is this Tomorrow?

Even if it were true that the Brutalists speak only to one another, the fact that they have stopped speaking to Mansart, to Palladio, and to Alberti would make the New Brutalism, even in its more private sense, a major contribution to the architecture of today.

(Reyner Banham. Dec.1955. *Architectural Review*, p.12)

This is Tomorrow at the Whitechapel Art Gallery in 1956 brings together different aspects of Paolozzi's post-war aesthetic practice in one *gesamtkunstwerk*. The exhibition, organised and designed by the architect and critic Theo Crosby and the critic Lawrence Alloway, brought together twelve groups of painters, sculptors and architects. Paolozzi collaborated with architects Alison and Peter Smithson, and Nigel Henderson to design and construct the *Patio and Pavilion* exhibit (Figure 82).⁴⁵⁰ The pavilion was a three-walled 'shed,' with a corrugated plastic roof. The open face of the pavilion had wire strung across it; the translucent roof was cluttered with bicycle parts, an image of a lobster, and other miscellaneous ephemera. The make-shift building was surrounded by a wall of semi-reflective aluminium-clad plywood with a doorway that allowed for visitor access. It was filled with sand, and emerging from beneath the sand were found objects, collages and ceramic tiles.⁴⁵¹ Peter Smithson, looking back on the making of *Patio and Pavilion* in conversation with Beatriz Colomina, makes clear how the team divided up their contributions for the exhibit:

Smithson: An art historian's interpretation of it is that it is a shed in a backyard, but that was not the intention. You know the way it was done? We designed a shed and an aluminium-faced plywood enclosure. And this sketch was all we did as architects. Then we went away to Dubrovnik, and the two boys. . .

Colomina: Nigel and Eduardo?

Smithson: Yes. They did the rest. That is, it was not in any way pre-planned. The text says the architect makes the space; the occupier takes possession by doing his thing.

⁴⁵⁰ For a more in-depth account of the exhibit see Ben Highmore. 2006. 'Rough Poetry: Patio & Pavilion Revisited,' *Oxford Art Journal* 29.2 (Oxford University Press), pp.269-290.

⁴⁵¹ Highmore 2006, p.270.

Colomina: So Nigel and Eduardo were the occupiers.

Smithson: Yes, we didn't decorate it. They decorated it.⁴⁵²

Paolozzi and Henderson 'dressed' the pavilion with detritus, which Robin Spencer suggests to be the first use of rubbish to have been used in an exhibition in the United Kingdom.⁴⁵³ Amongst the throwaway ephemera are sculptural artefacts similar in appearance to *Study for a larger version*, and covered in markings reminiscent of those appearing on the surfaces of *Unknown Political Prisoner* which can be identified as Paolozzi's handiwork.

The purpose and function of *Patio and Pavilion* was not easy for visitors to infer. The exhibit, as Peter Smithson says, was not simply 'a shed in a backyard'; there was more intention behind the exhibit than that.⁴⁵⁴ When considered within the exhibition as a whole, the meaning of the pavilion becomes clearer. If the purpose of the ICA show was to deliver on the theme *This is Tomorrow*, then the pavilion must be presenting a domiciliary of the future. For the four creators, writing in the catalogue of the exhibition:

Patio and Pavilion represents the fundamental necessities of the human habitat in a series of symbols. The first necessity is for a piece of the world: the patio. The second necessity is for an enclosed space: the pavilion. These two spaces are furnished with symbols for all human needs.⁴⁵⁵

The pavilion does not however appear to project a definitively futuristic vision, at least not the sort of bright, shiny and sanitised ensemble viewers would expect to see when looking at a residence of the future based on the Modernist *ideal* home appearing in popular magazines, advertisements and town plans. Indeed, *Patio and Pavilion* seemed to be looking backwards and forwards, and if it was anticipating the future it was unclear if this was a near future or from some point even further in the future like a sort of imagined eternity. It is precisely what Romy Golan calls its

⁴⁵² Beatriz Colomina, 'Friends of the Future: a Conversation with Peter Smithson', *October*, no. 94, 2000, p. 26.

⁴⁵³ Spencer 2000, p.56.

⁴⁵⁴ Peter Smithson. 2002. 'Think of it as a farm! Exhibitions, books, buildings: An interview with Peter Smithson', in Kester Attenbury, ed., *This Is Not Architecture: Media Constructions* (Routledge: London and New York), p. 91.

⁴⁵⁵ *This is Tomorrow* Catalogue. 1956. Reproduced in David Robbins, ed., *The Independent Group*, p. 154. Punctuation added.

'anti-pastoral derelict vernacular,' out of which *Patio and Pavilion* was assembled, which suggests the exhibit was conceived as a deliberate antidote to the utopian pre-War conception of the future, and a reaction to hostile Cold War forces.⁴⁵⁶

The year before *Patio and Pavilion* was staged; Banham published an article in the *Architectural Review* titled 'New Brutalism.'⁴⁵⁷ By looking at the artists and architects referenced in Banham's article we gain a better understanding of what New Brutalism meant in the mid 1950s. He distinguishes two groups: on the one hand there were the inner circle, those who were part of the Independent Group and who might actually have called themselves Brutalists –Alison and Peter Smithson, Magda Cordell, Nigel Henderson and Paolozzi; on the other was a list of hypothetical Brutalists which Banham enlisted for the cause: Jean Dubuffet, Jackson Pollock, Alberto Burri, Michel Tapié, Louis Kahn and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, amongst others.⁴⁵⁸ New Brutalism, then, runs parallel to reactionary developments of *Art Informel* present in mainland Europe, most particularly France, Spain, Germany and Italy, and overseas in Japan, and sought to open-out the definition of this wave of gestural art making practice to encompass Abstract Expressionism concurrently emerging in the US. What is more, Banham's inclusion of the names of architects mixed in with artists evinces that New Brutalism was not confined to one denomination of creative practice, and encouraged the view of a unification of the arts. Collectively these artistic practitioners asserted a radical break with all traditional notions of order and composition – including those of Modernism – in a movement collectively moving toward something wholly 'other.' *Patio and Pavilion* was accurately described by Banham as, 'not quite architecture, not quite painting or sculpture either.'⁴⁵⁹ Whilst the ambitious discourse of the 'synthesis of the arts' intoned by Le Corbusier, Sirioni and more recently Dorfles and Munari is valiantly resurrected – paralleling post-War aesthetic developments by the MAC group in

⁴⁵⁶ Golan 2009, p.232.

⁴⁵⁷ Reyner Banham. December 1955. 'The New Brutalism', *The Architectural Review*, no. 118, reproduced in Reyner Banham, *A Critic Writes: Essays by Reyner Banham* (University of California Press: Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1996), pp. 7–15.

⁴⁵⁸ Banham 1955, p.12.

⁴⁵⁹ Banham 1955. P.12.

Italy – its performative function is subverted. If New Brutalism is an ethical response to contemporary forces, which, if we are to understand it in the terms Banham implies, this aesthetic is more than a rebellion through ‘ugliness’ it is a way of reformulating a new, non-Fascist modernism.

Every detail of *Patio and Pavilion*’s design and construction undermines the utopian intentions of pre-War pavilion exhibits. The ram-shackled structure of the low-lying pavilion contrasts starkly with the monumental and palatial pavilions of the 1930s. *Patio and Pavilion*, designed as a place of refuge, could not be further removed from MOSTRA’s pavilion, which Paolozzi visited in 1933 and which demonstrated Italian citizens’ talents and mastery. The ‘tomb-like installation’ of *Patio and Pavilion* decorated with the vestments of a now-deceased society, stand in contradistinction to the aesthetics of resilience and permanence revealed in the exhibits at MOSTRA.⁴⁶⁰ The creation of Fascist myths through spectacle, explored earlier in this chapter, was narrated at MOSTRA through aggressive modernist forms fabricated from metalised materials that apprehended Italy’s expansion of Empire and gigantic classical architectures to affirm the country’s victories, paralleling those of their Roman ancestors.

Paolozzi’s sculpted moon rocks bearing charred exteriors that were installed inside *Patio and Pavilion*, neither demonstrably art nor design, sculpture nor ceramic, fit with Banham’s description of being ‘Brutalist.’ Their ravaged shapes and primitive inscriptions defy the symmetrical proportions, order and reason expected of creative artefacts from complex societies, such as those of Rome or Greece. Instead, these works, which look primeval, have been created to simulate raw expression. Paolozzi has deliberately fashioned these archaeological ‘finds’ from cultures pre-dating classical civilization to offer an alternative historical precedent for humankind’s nature, and to counter the misappropriation of classical heritage by the Fascist regime. Imported to confer gravitas and authenticity on the founding

⁴⁶⁰ Highmore 2006, p.277.

and future successes of Fascism, the classical had become tarnished by its later appropriation by totalitarian regimes. Paolozzi's artefacts' unrefined and pitted surfaces counter the perfectionism of polished Carrara marble, and Futurism's machine-honed surfaces. These ravaged remains, whilst invoking references to the Neolithic past, also project an image of a post-apocalyptic future. Paolozzi's creation of art objects which look backwards to the ancient past and forwards to an indeterminate future ironises the paradoxical rhetoric at the heart of the Fascist regime.⁴⁶¹

Paolozzi deliberately distances his conception of the future from that propagated by Fascist spectacle. His sculptures, gnarled and pitted, whilst connotative of relics from a lost time also have the appearance of charred skin premonitory of nuclear holocaust. Looking through newspapers and magazines of 1956, one comes away with the sense that Britain was on the precipice of an atomic disaster. In May of that year, the world's first atomic power station opens at Calder Hall, Cumberland, and during the summer, enthusiastic reporting on the building of a large-scale 'fast reactor' at Dounreay in Scotland was fulsomely covered in the print media.⁴⁶² Paolozzi invites the spectator of *Patio and Pavilion* to meditate on a nihilistic vision of the future. The installation projects a depiction of the world as destroyed by warfare violence which ironises the vision of vainglorious warfare promoted by Fascism. Where once Paolozzi identified with the techniques of Sironi and mimicked his reinvention of the classical *ideal*, most compellingly articulated in his 'Room of Fasci' at *MOSTRA*, the artist now inverts Sironi's language of forms and replaces his tantalising image of Victory with one of existentialist despair. Paolozzi's journal notes betray something of the artist's intention:

Executing items for two exhibitions:

⁴⁶¹ George L. Mosse. Apr., 1996. 'Fascist Aesthetics and Society: Some Considerations,' *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 31, No. 2, Special Issue: *The Aesthetics of Fascism*, Sage Publications, pp. 245-252.

⁴⁶² Fyfe Robertson. 14 July 1956. 'Atomic Power Puts 'Coalmine in a Ball of Steel,' *Picture Post*, p. 17. The wording of this as a 'final solution' seems to emphasise the way that even the most optimistic celebrations of new scientific feats (which is what the *Picture Post* article is), are undercut by the memory of trauma, reproduced in Highmore 2006, p.288.

1. Studio Club, Swallow Street, Piccadilly in December of this year, fabrics, wallpapers, trays, ties, scarves and tiles.
2. Whitechapel Gallery in Autumn, 1956. In collaboration with Alison and Peter Smithson
3. ARIBA. An ideological summer-house of the future. This will comprise a fountain-swimming pool, a decorated floor, an acid etched wall and a latex ceiling.⁴⁶³

The swimming pool was never built, but Highmore is correct: it would probably have been filled with dead fish. Paolozzi's deliberate displacement of the capitalist dream propagandised by Fascism prefigures Arte Povera's radical attacks of established institutions of government, industry, and culture. The collective vision of nuclear holocaust projected by *This is Tomorrow* asks a question as to whether art as the private expression of the individual still had ethical legitimacy.?

⁴⁶³ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1955. 'Hammer Prints Ltd.,' in *Eduardo Paolozzi*, p. 77.

Chapter 2

Part I

Images of Man

These new images belong to the iconography of despair, or of defiance. Here are images of flight, of excoriated flesh, frustrated sex, the geometry of fear. Their art is close to the nerves, nervous, wiry. They have seized Eliot's image of the Hollow Men...
..they have peopled the Waste Land with iron waifs.

(Herbert Read. 1952. 'New Aspects of British Sculpture', *The XXXVI Venice Biennale, The British Pavilion*, London, u.p.)

If the previous Chapter demonstrated Eduardo Paolozzi to be an artist who was developing his idiom out of the remnants of the pre-World War II avant-garde, more particularly identifying the formulation of his iconology within the context of Italian art and popular culture of the 1930s – 1950s, thereby challenging scholarship embedding the artist into a 'Surrealist' trajectory, this Chapter further investigates Paolozzi's identity as an Italian artist by revealing the multifaceted nature of the man machine aesthetic prevalent in his oeuvre. In his important 1963 interview with Paolozzi, Lawrence Alloway first apprehended, 'that technology is an intimate and natural part of Paolozzi's image of man, neither man's enemy nor the object of homage in terms of modern materials (the prevalent attitudes towards technology in twentieth century art).'¹ Humankind's relationship with the machine was one to which Paolozzi returned time and again during his extensive career. His interest in conflating human imagery with that of the machine emerge in varied forms in his work of the 1940s and 1950s. In what follows, it will be argued that the theme of the mechanized man runs deep within Italian Fascist and Futurist culture which preceded the Surrealist identification of the subject. Thus, it will be suggested that it was Paolozzi's formative exposure to Italian culture, rather than his exclusive reliance on Dada and Surrealist iconography which provided the artist with his signature theme.

¹ Lawrence Alloway. 1963. *Metallization of a Dream* (Lion and Union Press), p.44.

Alloway's reading set Paolozzi against the prevailing Cold War anxiety towards the machine. Indeed, this succinct claim was, in part, aimed at his distinguished predecessor Herbert Read, who, in his catalogue essay for the British pavilion at the 1952 Venice Biennale, introduced Paolozzi and seven other young British sculptors then relatively unknown both at home and abroad, including Robert Adams, Kenneth Armitage, Reg Butler, Lynn Chadwick, Geoffrey Clarke, Bernard Meadows and William Turnbull, memorably referring to their work as 'the geometry of fear.'² It was Read's label which forged a collective identity on this relatively disparate group of sculptors. A subsequent result of Read's influential collective term has been to envelope Paolozzi's body of work exclusively into the general distrust and hostility for the mechanized post-war world which loomed large after the bombing of Hiroshima and the introduction of the threat of nuclear annihilation.³ Taking up from where Alloway left off, rather than embed Paolozzi's man-machine aesthetic of the 1940s and 50s exclusively into post-Apocalyptic discourse; presupposing the artist to be supportive of a Dada and Surrealist perspective, Paolozzi's vision will be re-evaluated in terms of its responsiveness to the profound changes wrought by science and technology and their implications for humanity.⁴ It will be argued that Paolozzi's confections of humans and machine are more than arbitrary or chance gestures. His early collages, especially those in his scrapbooks, reveal evidence that the artist was working through a series of specific ideas about the impact of technology on the human body, and more generally on society.

It seems prudent, first, to establish when Paolozzi's earliest forays into developing his interest in mechanomorphism started, and then to start exploring the artist's possible motives for doing so. In order to better understand Paolozzi's interest in this idiom, exemplary examples from his early career will be analyzed and

² Herbert Read. 1952. 'New Aspects of British Sculpture,' exh.cat. *The XXVI Venice Biennale* (Venice: The British Council Fine Arts Committee, June-October), u.p.

³ Nancy Jachec.2004. 'British Sculpture at the Venice Biennale, 1956-1960: Europeanism and its Limits,' paper given at the conference *British Sculpture Abroad: 1945 to Now* (London: Tate Britain, March 12-14, 2004), quoted by Margaret Garlake. 2007. 'Revisiting the Geometry of Fear,' in *Re-Reading Read: New Critical Views on Herbert Read*, edit. by Michael Paraskos (London: Freedom Press), pp.141-42.

compared with prevalent competing avant-garde movements whose proponents were fascinated by the machine's aesthetic possibilities for varied – and often paradoxical – reasons.

2.1 **Man and Machine: 1940-1945**

Comment [API]: As above, shouldn't you put 2.1 here, and running through the rest?

Morality, religion, metaphysics, all the rest of ideology and their corresponding forms of consciousness, thus no longer retain the semblance of independence. They have no history, no development; but men, developing their material production and their material intercourse, alter, along with this their real existence, their thinking and the products of their thinking.

(Karl Marx. 1845. *German Ideology* reprinted in Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan (ed.). 2004. *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. 2nd edition, Oxford: Blackwell)

One of Paolozzi's earliest collages, *Head of Demeter* (1946), replaces the classical *ideal* with a matrix of mechanical parts (Figure 83). He substitutes anatomical detail with parts of machines: the goddess's 'face' has been constructed from a network of pipes, pediments and pistons. Some of these mechanical parts have a musical origin: organ pipes frame the face mimicking 'hair,' whilst also giving the head structure and verticality, and a sound box replaces the mouth. Paolozzi has analogized the sensory aspects of being human, both hearing and speaking with inanimate mechanical parts. Other elements of the facial composition have an architectural ancestry; a centrally-placed pivot point, taken from a diagrammatic engineer's drawing, is located where the nose usually resides, whilst load bearing structures replace the skeletal frame. The remaining body parts have been salvaged from laboratories or from industry; a dial like that found on the dashboard of a motorcar takes on the function of an 'eye,' whilst a complex network of ducts function as arteries, veins or nerves, like conduits carrying the life blood, sensations or thoughts which contribute to making us human. There is a strong sense in which these mechanized parts are replacements for biological organs. It is as if Paolozzi is simultaneously setting forth to challenge traditional methods of making art, and to build a new mechanically enhanced human being.

Winifred Konnertz has explained Paolozzi's early preoccupation with combining cut and pasted images of man with those of the machine as originating from his exposure to Dada, more specifically with the work of Berlin based Dadaist Raoul Hausmann.⁵ Certainly there are strong visual parallels between Hausmann's *The Spirit of Our Time* (c.1920) and Paolozzi's *Head of Demeter* (Figure 84). Hausmann's assemblage is constructed from a hairdresser's wig-making dummy, on to which various scientific instruments and accoutrements of modern living have been attached to its exterior. These items include a ruler, a pocket-watch mechanism, typewriter, camera parts and a crocodile skin wallet.⁶ More than a witty composition bringing together unrelated subjects, Hausmann suggests this is a head whose 'thoughts' are materially determined by the objects literally fixed to it. Both Paolozzi and Hausmann undermine the individuality of the sitter through their interjection of modern mechanized elements inserted into the human mind, thereby making redundant the assumption that lies behind the European fascination with the portrait.⁷

Clearly, a shared interest with the impact of technologised culture on humankind's psyche is being explored by both artists. If Paolozzi sets forth to integrate mechanized and anatomical parts fully, recommending a symbiosis of organic and machine parts working toward similar ends, Hausmann interprets innovations in industrialized technology and accompanying consumer culture as forces penetrating from 'outside' into the minds of Man; subverting our behaviours and motivations.⁸ Through their individual interpretations of the mechanized head, Paolozzi and Hausmann contend with wider philosophical implications confronting a society now increasingly reliant on the machine. If Paolozzi apprehends a fully operational mechanic human being which substitutes natural anatomies with mechanical ones, Hausmann contends himself with fears attached to devolving power away from humankind's seat of reason. He inverts the notion of independent

⁵ Winnifred Konnertz. 1984. *Eduardo Paolozzi* (D. Mont Buchverlag Koln), p.81.

⁶ Matthew Gale. 1997. *Dada & Surrealism* (Phaidon Press), p.226.

⁷ Robert Short. 1980. introduces Dada and Surrealism's anti-capitalist rationale in, *Dada & Surrealism* (Octopus), p.64.

⁸ *Ibid*, p.65.

thought and plays with our notion of the mind being a locus for our sense of identity. Thus, it could be summarised that, whilst Paolozzi seeks to normalize the intervention of technology into our lives and views the machine as a predestined part of our evolutionary development, Hausmann's intention is rather to portray a rejection of the idea that society could evolve through a greater dependence on the machine.⁹

For the Dada group of which Hausmann was an integral member, new technologies were considered with cautionary skepticism because of their identity being analogous with the horrors of mechanised trench warfare. As Robert Sheppard succinctly put it, mechanization was a 'direct product of the competitive urge of industrial capitalism.'¹⁰ As a result, Hausmann's dislocation of the head from the body and implied psychic regression of *The Spirit of Our Time* offers a parody of the capitalist machine as autistic.¹¹ It is a willful paragon of the communist engineer. Paolozzi's description of the human head, as witnessed in *Head of Demeter*, cannot be perceived as reconciling with Hausmann's point of view. His mechanization of the human head presents the machine mirroring the functions of the body and mind and potentially extending their capabilities. This distinguishes Paolozzi quite clearly from the rationale of Dada or Surrealism, and more redolently ascribes him to a Futurist way of seeing. A closer comparison for *Head of Demeter* might be Umberto Boccioni's *Fusion of Head and Window* (1912), which notably informed Hausmann's own reworking of the theme.

Boccioni's sculptural assemblage also demonstrates an intervention of technology inside the human head (Figure 85). The assemblage comprises a bust of a woman fashioned in Cubist style fused with insertions of the ready-made. The bust has locks of 'real' hair and it is surmounted by a 'real' plate glass window, it is

⁹ Elza Adamowitz. 1996 (1997). 'The Surrealist (Self) Portrait: Convulsive Identities,' *Surrealism: Surrealist Visuality*, edited by Silvano Levy (Keele University Press, Edinburgh), p.32.

¹⁰ Richard Sheppard. 1979. *Aspects of European Dada: the Limitations of Vitalism*, unpublished doctoral thesis (University of East Anglia), p.147.

¹¹ Hal Foster. April 1997. 'Prosthetic Gods', *Modernism/Modernity* - Volume 4, Number 2, p.33.

positioned next to a model of a house.¹² Each element of the composition nullifies spectators' expectations when viewing a portrait bust. Even viewed today, a century after its creation, the sculpture is alarmingly 'present'; delivering an image of its sitter which is time specific with little regard for the antiquated precedents of its well worn tradition. As Boccioni wrote:

A Futurist sculptural composition will contain within itself the kind of marvelous mathematical and geometric elements that make up the objects of our time. And these objects will not be disposed alongside the statue as an explanatory attributes or separate decorative elements but, in accord with the laws of a new conception of harmony, will be embedded in the muscular lines of the human body. Thus the wheel of some piece of machinery might project from the mechanic's armpit; thus the line of the table could cut right through the head of a man reading, and the book with its fan of pages could slice the reader's stomach into cross-section.¹³

In accordance with Boccioni's recommendation, to 'fling open the figure and let it incorporate within itself whatever may surround it,' *Fusion of Head and Window* incorporates 'actual' parts of modern life into the realm of high art.¹⁴ Furthermore, something of the fleeting nature of this faster-paced modernity is suggested through the artist's asymmetrical placement of the head on a decentralized and uneven bed of clay.¹⁵ Boccioni's rendition of modernity supports Walter Adamson's suggestion that technologies 'propelled the commodity form into the centre of modern life making possible a world of objects and fashions that was perpetually transforming and at an ever-increasing speed.'¹⁶

Boccioni is rapturous in his response to the changing technological landscape. There is not a hint of Hausmann's cynicism to be detected in *Fusion of Head and Window*. In many respects these antithetical responses to the intervention of the machine tidily present the primary modernist positions on technology. If Boccioni attempts to

¹² Raffaele Carriere. 1955. *Avant-Garde Painting and Sculpture in Italy, 1890-1955* (Domus), p.24.

¹³ Umberto Boccioni, 'Technical Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture,' 11th April 1910, reprinted in Herschel Browning Chipp. 1968. *Theories of Modern Art* (University of California Press, Berkley, Cambridge University Press, UK), p.298.

¹⁴ Marinanne W. Martin (1978) gives a thorough account of 'Fusion of Head and Window' in, *Futurist Art and Theory 1909-1915* (Hacker Art Books, New York), p.214.

¹⁵ Umberto Boccioni, one of the short statements accompanying his exhibition of eleven 'plastic ensembles' at Galerie Boétie, Paris, June – July 1913.

¹⁶ Walter L. Adamson. 2007. 'F.T. Marinetti,' *Embattled Avant-Gardes- Modernism's Resistance to Commodity Culture in Europe* (University of California), p.78.

invigorate a conventional portrait with inventions from the modern world, Hausmann meditates on their perceived corrupting influences. In step with his Futurist counterparts Boccioni considers the machine a tool for Man's advancement.¹⁷ Technology is witnessed as a tool for extending Man's capabilities, for increasing strength, accelerating power and enhancing reason. Hausmann, like his Dada peers, on the other hand, apprehends Man's misuse of the arrival of mechanic incursions as breaking down natural order. Dada, as Max Ernst retrospectively admitted, launched, 'attacks on the foundation of a civilization responsible for war.'¹⁸ Dada's debunking of the machine is not then strictly a rebuff of the machine per se, but more of humankind's destructive uses for these inventions. Hausmann's intent was not to attribute a level of anxiety to the machine, but, to confront a shocked post-war society with a relic of the aberrations which they had brought on themselves. In the words of Ernst, Dada's dismembered and satirical works intended to 'work over this trauma – to work through it caustically rather than therapeutically.'¹⁹ If *Fusion of Head and Window* and *The Spirit of Our Time* present images of Man metamorphosed by technological advancements, the former perceives that humankind's state of consciousness would be changed for the better and the latter projects an inversion of this reality. In this early work it is clear Paolozzi shares more with Boccioni's naïve excitement for the potentialities of mankind investing in new technologies than with Hausmann's critique of its vandalizing tendencies.

2.2 Early 1940s Scrapbooks

In the private spaces of his scrapbooks Paolozzi brings together a host of imagery of technology and various descriptions of the male anatomy and plays out imaginative possibilities, and at times fantastical hypotheses. In a scrapbook of the early 1940s which can be identified by its title cut out from a magazine which reads 'People of

¹⁷ Graziella Marchielli. 1996. *Futurism and Fascism: the Politicisation of Art and the Aestheticization of Politics, 1909 – 1944* (University of Iowa, PhD thesis, UMI), p.112.

¹⁸ Max Ernst, quoted in Dorothée Brill. 2010. *Shock and the Senseless in Dada and Fluxus* (Dartmouth college Press, published by University Press of New England), p.72.

¹⁹ Ibid, p.73.

China', each page brings together some form of mechanized imagery with human activity.²⁰ On one of the opening pages a photograph of men donning kaki military uniforms is positioned next to a line drawing by the artist of a U.S. M4 Sherman tank (Figure 32). The M4 became the second-most-produced tank of World War II, and was the only tank to be used by virtually all Allied forces thanks to the American lend-lease programme. These seemingly disparate images, when considered in light of Alloway's suggestion of 'connectivity' occurring between one-cut and-pasted image and another, imply that Paolozzi intended correspondences to exist between these selected ephemera: the soldiers and the tank are both in camouflage.²¹ The soldiers wear hard-hats whilst the tank has a toughened outer shell also designed for protection in combat. The men are youthful and athletic in appearance whilst the tank, a relatively new invention, is dexterous and fast moving, designed for infantry support and exploitation in the field. Furthermore, iconographically, both images assert a readiness for war. The imagery speaks of aggression, armory, youth and violence. It is as if Paolozzi perceives the machine to personify best these such aspirational 'masculine' characteristics, or perhaps more pertinently suggests that mankind could find a superlative articulation of 'maleness' through his greater reliance on the machine.

Those superhuman qualities which could be attained by harnessing powers from technology are further alluded to in an article which Paolozzi cutout wholesale, entitled 'The Modern Robot'.²² Beneath a photograph of a seated god-like robotic man, an article entitled 'Modern Science' has relieved mankind of many manual tasks' discusses the manifold abilities of the mechanized man and explains how 'he' works. The examples of what the robot is capable of range from making cups of tea, to ironing, to reciting encyclopedic knowledge on an array of different topics. Investigating ways technology could perform functions which either support or

²⁰ Eduardo Paolozzi. c.1940–1950. Buff coloured Scrapbook entitled 'People of China,' Krazy Kat Archive (Victoria and Albert Museum). Reference: AAD/1985/3/6/5, London.

²¹ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1963. *Eduardo Paolozzi: The Metallisation of a Dream* (Lion and Union Press), u.p.

²² Eduardo Paolozzi. 1940 – 1945. Scrapbook with a Philips light bulb, Krazy Kat Archive (Victoria and Albert Museum). Reference: AAD/1985/3/6/7, London.

replace those carried out by Man seem to have been of particular fascination to Paolozzi. Is the artist forecasting how technology could best extend Man's capabilities, or rather hybridizing Man with machine in an aspiration-driven attempt to spawn a super-being?²³ Another robot named 'Clarence' taken from an edition of *Radio Craft* magazine, published in October 1939, is also featured in the 'People of China' scrapbook (Figure 86). The article informs us that Clarence made an appearance at the New York World Fair of that year and demonstrated an ability to speak and walk 'without wires trailing.' The article goes on to suggest this robotic man would be 'the Man of tomorrow.'²⁴ The infectious enthusiasm of this piece of journalism seems to be shared by Paolozzi, who has taken great care to retain those all important words inviting speculation on humankind's place in the world of a more technologically advanced future. One further example of a metalized human being is apprehended in an advertisement for the Syracuse Lighting Company in New York which uses a stainless steel figure to adorn its factory buildings. The strap-line running beneath the image reads, 'Power' – nothing could better symbolize the age of machinery. From this caption it is possible to infer that Paolozzi identifies the machine as having as yet unrealized potentialities. This aspirational image seems to epitomize the utopian spirit surrounding new technologies which Paolozzi was identifiably enthusiastic about. Its selection and placement suggest Paolozzi was committed to its invocation commanding humans

²³ According to Klaus Theweleit, it was prevalent in German proto-fascist literature of the 1920s, that the battlefield itself became a sexual terrain far more familiar and desirable than a woman's body. As he noted, 'These men look for ecstasy not in embraces, but in explosions, in the rumbling of bomber squadrons or in brains being shot to flames.' In the case of Marinetti and his brand of proto-fascism, however, the terrain of the battlefield, although sexualized, was nevertheless centered upon a recreation of creation: a realization (echoing Nietzsche) that 'Man is something that shall be overcome' (Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Portable Nietzsche*, ed. and trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1954), p.124). Futurism's desire was to replace human physiology with mechanical technology which necessitated a rejection and elimination of procreation in general and women's reproductive organs in particular. To the Futurists, this can only be accomplished by redefining the act of creation as a process of engineering rather than biology - that is, not as an interiorized, 'human' experience but a mechanical assemblage of parts. For further reading, see Klaus Theweleit. 1989. *Male Fantasies* Vol. II (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).

²⁴ Eduardo Paolozzi. c.1940–1950. Buff coloured Scrapbook entitled 'People of China,' Krazy Kat Archive (Victoria and Albert Museum). Reference: AAD/1985/3/6/5, London.

to reach beyond his limits and embrace mechanization to create a better world in the future.²⁵

When seen in context, successive images in Paolozzi's scrapbook of the early 1940s strongly suggest that the artist hybridizes the male anatomy with industrial machinery, aeroplanes, tanks, motor vehicles and ocean liners intending to extend humankind's capabilities. If Paolozzi's enthusiasm for the potentialities of the machine were shared by an array of early twentieth-century artists and art movements –the Purists in France, the Precisionists in the United States, the *Neue Sachlichkeit* in Germany, Constructivists in Russia and the Vorticists in England– this particular form of mechanomorphic fetishism found ultimate expression with the Italian Futurists.²⁶ The machine became the inspiration for the movement: the immortal machine could be ruthlessly efficient and ultimately powerful, it was designed specifically for combat and it rendered the female of the species redundant.²⁷

2.3 Futurism and the Technological Imagination

We are on the extreme promontory of the centuries! What is the use of looking behind at the moment when we must open the mysterious shutters of the impossible? Time and Space died yesterday. We are already living in the absolute, since we have already created eternal, omnipresent speed.

(F. T. Marinetti. 1909. *The Futurist Manifesto* reprinted in John Whittam.1995. *Fascist Italy*, Manchester University Press, p.158)

Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, in his *Manifesto of Futurism* (1909), praised energy, danger, daring, rebellion, huge crowds, factories, cars speed and 'war', which he advocated to be 'the sole hygiene of the world.'²⁸ He wanted Italy to cease being a backward looking 'second-hand market' and turn resolutely to the future. Marinetti's urge for a 'modern' subject, as Marianne Martin suggests, echoed

²⁵ Alexander De Grand. 1989. *Italian Fascism: Its Origins & Development* (London and Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press), p.5

²⁶ Hal Foster. 2004. *Prosthetic Gods* (MIT Press), p.118.

²⁷ Christine Poggi. 2009. *Inventing Futurism – the Art and Politics of Artificial Optimism* (Princeton University Press and Oxford), p.54.

²⁸ Marinetti, however, was not born in Milan; in fact, he did not move to the city until 1905. The poet's international background (born in Alexandria, attended school in Paris, traveled extensively throughout Europe), coupled with the fact that his father's wealth and influence allowed him access to the technological marvels of the time, can be cited as reasons for his interest in poetry and technology.

Baudelaire's appeal to the artist to be concerned 'with the heroism of modern life.'²⁹ Focusing on the aggressive newness of the machine was part of an endeavor to emancipate Italians from the crushing weight of their past.³⁰ For the Futurists, the machine, as Christina Poggi discerns, 'displaced both the idealized woman and the religious icon, triumphing over these now superseded divinities with its cold, hard, and metallic forms.'³¹ It provided a symbolic and tangibly potent force with which 'the multi-colored and polyphonic surf of revolutions in modern capitals' could be realized.³² As much, then, political as it was an aesthetic weapon, the machine's industrializing intervention overturned the existing 'gangrene' of academies, libraries and museums, and penetrated through prevailing values of society and their corresponding conceptions of art of which Marinetti was contemptuous.³³

The New Man that Marinetti envisaged for Italy was to be virile, aggressive, and violent, free from the cult of the past, boasting the quintessence of masculinity.³⁴ These aspects of masculinity derived ultimate expression from the machine. For Marinetti the human body had proven itself to be riddled with weakness and fallibility. Mechanization constituted an advance beyond humanism. Humankind could now evolve, as Dziga Vertov put it, 'from a bumbling citizen, through the poetry of the machine, to the perfect electric man.'³⁵ It was estimated by the Futurists that the machine would magnify the potentialities of what man could achieve. Marinetti hailed the twentieth century as the one in which man would finally consummate the 'dreamt of metallization of the human body.'³⁶ A new, dynamic synthesis of man and machine, a synthesis that Gerald Heard would, in 1939, term 'mechanomorphism,' ushered in a solution to what Marinetti perceived

²⁹ Marianne Martin. 1978. 'Fusion of Head and Window' in, *Futurist Art and Theory 1909-1915* (Hacker Art Books, New York), p.81.

³⁰ Mark Antliff. Mar. 2002. 'Fascism, Modernism, and Modernity,' *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 84, No. 1, pp. 148-149.

³¹ Christine Poggi. 2009. *Inventing Futurism – the Art and Politics of Artificial Optimism* (Princeton University Press), p.43.

³² F. T. Marinetti. 20 Feb. 1909. 'Le Futurisme' which came to be known as the First Futurist Manifesto, *Figaro*, reprinted in Günter Berghaus. 2006. 'The Foundation of Futurism,' *Critical Writings* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux), p.27.

³³ Andrew Hewitt. 1993. *Fascist Modernism – Aesthetics, Politics, and the Avant-Garde* (Stanford University Press) provides an in-depth account of the formulation of Fascism and its relationship with mechanization.

³⁴ Alyce Mahon. 2005. *Eroticism and Art* (Oxford University Press), p.116-7.

³⁵ Dziga Vertov. 1922. 'Kinoks: A Revolution the Manifesto on Nonacted Cinema,' *LEE*, no.3, 1923, reprinted in Annette Michelson. 1984. *Kino-eye: the Writings of Dziga Vertov* (University of California Press), p.103.

³⁶ F.T. Marinetti (1935), reprinted in R.W. Flint, *Marinetti: Selected Writings*, London 1972, p.212.

to be Man's limitations and inherent flaws.³⁷ Marinetti's prediction of the 'non-human model' of the future was based on Lamarck's evolutionary hypothesis, *The Multiplied Man and the Reign of the Machine*.³⁸

Marinetti's first officially Futurist work, *The Mafarka*, written in 1909 in the same year as the first Futurist Manifesto, narrates the epic adventures of an ultra-masculine warrior with an enormous eleven metre long penis.³⁹ Many of the escapades of Marinetti's protagonist parallel and parody those undertaken by Odysseus on his voyage home from the Trojan War.⁴⁰ Whilst other events; such as the Mafarka's fight with a dog, are derived from the Greek myths of Hercules. Marinetti also salvages some classically heroic characteristics to endow his Mafarka with; such as triumphing over enemies in battle and showing courage and loyalty, but relinquishes others. In addition to the text providing Futurism with a male role model, one of the more important episodes in *The Mafarka* in terms of its implications for the artistic movement is when the protagonist produces a son. The giant immortal automaton Gazurmah is spawned through autogenesis by Mafarka. This half-human half-aeroplane being sets a precedent for an imperial metallised man.⁴¹ Paolozzi's imaginative methodology, like Marinetti's, also bridges the gap between fantasy and reality. In his scrapbooks he intermittently moves between the immediate and a projected technologically enhanced future.

An exemplary example demonstrating Paolozzi's indiscriminate selection of fictional and fact-based pictorial resources can be witnessed in his 'People of China' scrapbook. The artist cuts and pastes the front cover of an edition of *Wonder Stories* –

³⁷ Gerald Heard, 'Pain, Sex and Time,' *A New Outlook on Evolution and the Future of Man*, Monk Fish Publishing, 2004, p.60.

³⁸ Hal Foster, *Prosthetic Gods*, Cambridge Mass. and London, MIT Press, 2004, p.120.

³⁹ F.T. Marinetti, *Marfarka, le Futuriste*, Christian Bourgeois, Éditeur, 1984.

⁴⁰ If Odysseus and his crew were captured by the Cyclops Polyphemus only escaping by blinding him with a wooden stake, the heroic Mafarka bravely intervened in the rape of a harem of women and took them to safety. Whilst Homer's Odysseus narrowly escapes the cannibalistic Laestrygonians, the resourceful Mafarka ends combat with the Africans in victory. At the western edge of the world the valiant Odysseus makes sacrifices to the dead and summons the spirit of the old prophet Tiresias to advise him, he witnesses visions of his mother who has died of grief during his long absence, and from her learns news of his household, threatened by the greed of Penelope's suitors; Marfaka also sees visions of his dead parents. The protagonists also share experiences of being tricked, Odysseus's men are turned into swine after eating and drinking the cheese and wine of the witch-goddess Circe and Marfaka is tricked into eating the phallus of a horse.

⁴¹ Christian Bourgeois. 1984. 'Introduction to F.T. Marinetti,' *Marfarka, le Futuriste*, p.ii.

Adventures of Future Science depicting an illustration of a mechanical alien inspired by the *Spore Doom* by author Eando Binder, and positions it next to a photograph of an aeroplane with its engine exposed (Figure 87).⁴² Through this comparison Paolozzi seeks to highlight that these technological feats of engineering share a number of similarities: Both defy gravity and are constructed with armored exteriors. They are capable of waging war and potentially exterminating their opposition. Paolozzi uses imagery taken from fictional sources to forecast what new advances in science might bring about for society in the future. Paolozzi projects a vision of hypothesized mechanical evolution; from aeroplane to monumental multi-armed flying saucer. For Jung, the UFO could also be a masculine symbol.⁴³ Importantly, the plane and the fictional mechanical invention are both controlled by a human pilot. Paolozzi's insistence on a human presence indicates that the artist considers the machine to be under humankind's control. In these heady early years, Paolozzi, echoing the Futurist perspective, apprehends only the beneficent aspects of the machine, leading humankind forth to victorious conquest.⁴⁴

Of all those Futurist artists who translated Marinetti's ideology into a visual reality, it was perhaps Bruno Munari who most fully realized his vision by inventing humanoid automatons from cut-and-pasted ephemera and thus asserting strong similarities with Paolozzi's collage creations.⁴⁵ Munari's collage *And Thus We Would Set about Seeing an Aeroplane Woman* (c.1936) seems to sum up the glorious possibilities and soaring excitement of the Machine Age (Figure 88).⁴⁶ The collage

⁴² Eduardo Paolozzi.c.1940. 'People in China' Scrapbook (Victoria and Albert Museum, London), reference: AAD/1985/3/6/5.

⁴³ 'In the threatening situation of the world today, when people are beginning to see that everything is at stake, the projection-creating fantasy soars beyond the realm of earthly organizations and powers into the heavens, into interstellar space, where the rulers of human fate, the gods, once had their abode in the planets...Even people who would never have thought that a religious problem could be a serious matter that concerned them personally are beginning to ask themselves fundamental questions. Under these circumstances it would not be at all surprising if those sections of the community who ask themselves nothing were visited by 'visions,' by a widespread myth seriously believed in by some and rejected as absurd by others.' Carl Gustav Jung. 1979. *Flying Saucers: A Modern Myth of Things Seen in the Skies* (Princeton University Press).

⁴⁴ Christine Poggi. 2009. *Inventing Futurism – the Art and Politics of Artificial Optimism* (Princeton University Press), p.234.

⁴⁵ Pierpaolo Antonello. 2005. *Beyond Futurism: Bruno Munari's Useless Machines*, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Cambridge), p.3 Although later in life Munari underplayed the Futurist phase in his career, there can be no doubt that he started out as a disciple of Marinetti. Futurism offered Munari many inspirational ideas and fostered a certain attitude towards artistic creation.

⁴⁶ A shorter version of Antonello's essay has been published in G.Berghaus (ed.). 2009. *Futurism and the Technological Imagination* (Amsterdam: Rodopi). From an epistemological standpoint, Munari's reference to Lamarck is quite different from Marinetti's, who quoted the French biologist in 'L'uomo moltiplicato e il regno della

depicts two cut-outs of pin-up girls interjected with machine parts. The most prominent figure has been cut in half and stands poised with arms at right angles above her head like a mermaid with the tail of an aircraft. The second female has a face masked by an aeroplane propeller, and can only be identified by her shapely legs. United by their fascination with the new possibilities offered by new technologies, Munari like Paolozzi embarked upon a career as an engineer before becoming a visual artist. Paolozzi's exploration of the ways in which human and mechanical forms display similarities compares favourably with Munari's explorations. His scrapbooks reveal that the artist is attempting to discern more than superficial points of comparison between living and synthetic life forms.

An example of Paolozzi cutting and pasting imagery describing humankind mirroring machine (or machine aping humankind) can be witnessed in the same 'People of China' scrapbook. Paolozzi places a close-up photograph of a perfectly honed male torso next to an illustration of a menacing 'pterodactyl' aircraft (Figure 89).⁴⁷ Those qualities esteemed in the hard aerodynamic bodywork of the plane are echoed in the idealized male physique. Something of the aeroplane's robust power has been captured within the torso's imposing size and disciplined proportions, its strength alluded to by enlarged and clearly defined muscles, its rationality mirrored by the chest's well-proportioned symmetry. It is as if the artist is searching for a formula for the *ideal* human and using the machine as a foil against which to measure humankind's strengths and weaknesses. The power and strength of the machine are not the only functions Paolozzi relies on its forms to symbolize. The artist also uses the aircraft to connote extreme masculinity, aggression and to invoke the sensation of moving in a forward motion. As we have noted in the previous

macchina,' included in *Guerra sola igiene del mondo* (1915): 'Certo è che ammettendo l'ipotesi trasformista di Lamarck, si deve riconoscere che noi aspiriamo alla creazione di un tipo non umano nel quale saranno aboliti il dolore morale, la bontà, l'affetto e l'ampore' (Marinetti 1915: 299). While in Marinetti, the theory of adaptation proposed by Lamarck is interpreted (or rather *misinterpreted*) factually — resorting to an evolutionary theory that was by that time already widely rejected in favour of Darwinism, Munari's understanding of this concept is analogical, resorting to a parallelism between natural and technical basic principles of formal growth.

⁴⁷ Eduardo Paolozzi.c.1940. 'People in China' Scrapbook (Victoria and Albert Museum, London), reference: AAD/1985/3/6/5.

Chapter, flight and aeroplanes were intimately connected with notions of autocratic power and wartime victory.

Exploring exactly what the functions this hypothesized super mechanic being might be is also considered within the pages of Paolozzi's scrapbooks: on a double-page spread an x-ray image of a being part man and part machine is featured in a montage displaying his mechanical internal organs, the eyes are replaced with light bulbs, nose by an air vent, mouth by a suction hose, and the workings of the mind replaced with a close knit labyrinth of cogs. Here, metal springs become muscles, bellows stand in for the rib-cage, and electronic wires provide the function of the nervous system. It is as if Paolozzi is breaking down the formulae for what makes an *ideal* Man and reconfiguring a New Man using elements taken from the machine to improve his natural and fallible anatomy.⁴⁸ Fortified by mechanistic intervention, this being has stronger than human weight bearing arms, a demonstrably rational technologically programmed mind, and an optimally athletic body making him appealing to the female harem who 'he' is positioned amongst. Through these cut and pasted compositions Paolozzi anticipates the developments of cybernetics and uses his scrapbooks as a site for imaginatively projecting visions of how the machine could metamorphose Man into a being with superhuman capabilities (paralleling a wider interest in eugenics which will be explored in more detail later).⁴⁹ Simply put, the machine exemplifies an apex of Paolozzi's idea of masculine perfection resonating closely with the Futurist *ideal*.

Whilst Marinetti could be credited with setting a precedent for the Futurist notion of the *ideal* man and its later incarnation in Italian Fascist culture (which was directly experienced by the young Paolozzi through his training at the Colonia), Marinetti's imaginary concept of a super being endowed with superior capabilities originated

⁴⁸ Klaus Theweleit explores the concept of man conjoining with the machine in, *Male Fantasies. Volume 1: Women, Floods, Bodies, History*, trans. Stephen Conway, *Theory and History of Literature*, vol. 22, ed. Wlad Godzich and Jochen Schulte-Sasse (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), p.41.

⁴⁹ Contemporary cybernetics began as an interdisciplinary study connecting the fields of control systems mechanical engineering, electrical network theory, logic modeling, evolutionary biology and neuroscience in the 1940s. Cybernetics as a discipline was firmly established by Norbert Wiener, Warren McCulloch, W. Ross Ashby and Alan Turing and W. Grey Walter. It was Wiener who popularised the social implications of cybernetics, drawing analogies between automatic systems and human institutions in *The Human Use of Human beings: Cybernetics and Society* (1950), Houghton-Mifflin.

from Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche. The philosopher's ideas were known to the Futurists through translations of his books, among which they particularly admired *Thus Spake Zarathustra* (1888) and the posthumous *The Will to Power* (1901). Nietzsche's first usage of the concept of the 'Übermensch' (often translated as 'overman' or 'superman') was in *The Gay Science*. Nietzsche posits the 'superman' as a goal that humanity can set for itself.

I teach you the Übermensch. Man is something that shall be overcome. What have you done to overcome him? [...] All beings so far have created something beyond themselves; and do you want to be the ebb of this great flood, and even go back to the beasts rather than overcome man? What is ape to man? A laughingstock or painful embarrassment. And man shall be that to Übermensch: a laughingstock or painful embarrassment. You have made your way from worm to man, and much in you is still worm. Once you were apes, and even now, too, man is more ape than any ape...The Übermensch is the meaning of the earth. Let your will say: the Übermensch *shall be* the meaning of the earth...Man is a rope, tied between beast and Übermensch—a rope over an abyss...what is great in man is that he is a bridge and not an end...⁵⁰

While interpretations of Nietzsche's 'overman' vary wildly, the context for its first useage was to describe gods and heroes of the Ancient Greeks.⁵¹ For Nietzsche, these heroic warriors were symbols of non-conformity, of those who did not fit within normalised standards of behaviour and ability, and who were prepared to challenge contemporary values and beliefs. The essence of what was implied in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* was that in the modern world all belief systems were fiction, so there were merely instances of 'the will to power.' It would be the superman's will to embrace life and to rise up and succeed (despite his knowing that he would have to live exactly the same life again for all eternity) that would distinguish him among men.⁵² It is Nietzsche's concept of the superman, in particular the idea of struggling against adversity to achieve success which seems to have most appealed to Marinetti, as it did to Benito Mussolini and the rest of the Italian political elite of the time.

⁵⁰ Friedrich Nietzsche. 2001. *The Gay Science*, trans. Josefine Naukhoff (Cambridge University Press), p. 199

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Jacob Goloumb and Robert S. Wistrich ed. 2002. *Nietzsche, Godfather of Fascism? On the Uses and Abuses of a Philosophy* (Princeton University Press), p.268.

2.4 Benito Mussolini's *Uomo Nuovo*

In Rome we see the promise of a future. Rome is our myth. We dream of Roman Italy, which is to say, of an Italy wise and strong, disciplined and Imperial. Much of the immortal spirit of Rome has arisen again in Fascism. Roman is our lictorian fasces, Roman the organization of our forces, Roman our pride and courage.

(Benito Mussolini quoted by Gioacchino Volpe, *History of the Fascist Movement*, p.xx)

Paolozzi's exposure to the concepts of Italy's New Man, who was to be strong and masculine, heroic and combative, originating with Marinetti and ultimately Nietzsche, can be traced back to his early life experiences.⁵³ His introduction to Italian culture through his father, who was an active supporter of Mussolini, together with his experiences at the Youth Camp Colonie Marina XXVIII Ottobre, Cattolica, indoctrinated him into the ways of Italian Fascism. No one epitomized the Futurist conception of the New Man better than Mussolini. Gerardo Dottori's *Benito Mussolini, 'il Duce'* (1933) captures the many and differing visages of the dictator in multiple semi-transparent and layered planes (Figure 90). The bridges of different coloured and geometric intersecting planes represent Mussolini as warrior hero, hardened and ready for action and a backdrop of flying aircraft encircling il Duce's head confirming his association with empire building technology. Fortunato Depero continues to use the Italian dictator's face as a paradigm of Fascist virtues. Depero's *Duce in the World* (1935), confers a greater emphasis on imaging the dictator as indomitable ruler. Mussolini's face is transformed into a metalized mask, and every subsidiary element of the composition; the celebratory flags, circling aeroplanes, and arms raised waving in adulation, recommend the Italian leader's super human qualities.

⁵³ Friedrich Nietzsche.1999. trans. with an afterward by Richard T. Grey, *Unpublished Writings from the Period of Unfashionable Observations Vol.II*, Stanford University Press, p.456.

Artists working under Mussolini's directives carried out an important role in defining and promoting his carefully controlled image. Marinetti's *Portrait of Mussolini* (1929) is exemplary of how a description of il Duce could reinforce nationalist sympathy. Marinetti's portrait of the dictator identifies Mussolini with Italy directly, 'because physically he is built all *'italiana.'*⁵⁴ The artist has carved his 'great gesture-fist-image-conviction' out of the mighty rocks of Italy's peninsula, to recommend the 'cubic will of the state.'⁵⁵ Marinetti called for Futurists to 'dehumanize' the voice and to 'metallize' the face, to render the body as anonymous as 'semaphores' and as geometric as 'pistons.'⁵⁶ When it came to propagating the heroic image of the Italian leader throughout society, Mussolini, as Steven Heller argues, had no reservations about taking on the challenge.⁵⁷ The Italian dictator, well-versed in the power of the media to shape opinion from his years working as a journalist, commissioned depictions of himself like a movie star. His profile and shaven head became the face of his regime, with a graphic bravado unequalled by any national figure.⁵⁸ Mussolini also publicized his virility by placing myriad massive busts and figures of himself throughout Italy, some of them Heller contends, 'unabashedly phallic.'⁵⁹ Just as people identified Roman Emperors with Italy, so now the dictator replaced this position in their minds. He looked to the Caesar personality cults and influence over imperial religions as a prototype. Encouraging his own idol worship, the dictator created a cult of personality for Italians to worship.⁶⁰ It is perhaps Adolfo Wildt who best transcribes the political intent of Mussolini into a portrait. Wildt's *Portrait of Benito Mussolini (Ritratto di Benito Mussolini, c.1925)*, with his shoulders 5ft wide, for a man 5ft 6inch tall,

⁵⁴ David Ohana. 2010. *The Futurist Syndrome: Volume III of the Nihilist Order* (Sussex Academic Press), p.87.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p.87-8.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p.19.

⁵⁷ Steven Heller. 2008. *Iron Fists – Branding the 20th Century Totalitarian State* (Phaidon Press Ltd), p.89.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p.89.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p.87.

⁶⁰ Romy Golan. 2009. *Mural Nomad – the Paradox of Wall Painting, Europe 1927-1957* (Yale University Press & New Haven, London), p.57.

presents il Duce like the new Caesar, evincing the ultimate warrior king image (Figure 91).⁶¹

Looking backwards to the victories of the Roman past as well as forwards to a technological future was critical to the Italian Fascist political strategy for success. At the centre of the Caesar cult lay the concept of conquest.⁶² Mussolini shifted Italian foreign policy away from non-aggression and toward aggressively expanding its Empire: In a bid to re-establish the former expanses of the Roman Empire, the Fascists bombed Corfu in 1923 before hastily moving on to take Libya. After gaining momentum through victories, in 1936, Fascist Italy invaded Abyssinia (latter-day Ethiopia) sweeping aside resistance and entering Addis Ababa. The League of Nations did nothing to prevent the invasion, nor evict Italy.⁶³ The Spanish Civil War broke out the same year Italy invaded Ethiopia. Mussolini sent aid to his fellow Fascist leader General Francisco Franco, estranging Italy from France and Britain. Italy fought in the Spanish Civil War until Franco achieved victory. Thus, by 1939, with its growing allies Italy seemed to be on the verge of resurrecting the Roman Empire.⁶⁴

Paolozzi's collection of images surrounding a portrait of Mussolini incorporated in his 'People of China' scrapbook dating from the early 1940s reveal the artist's identification of Italy's dictator with war and violence. A full-length portrait of il Duce in military uniform appears next to one of Hitler wearing formal Nazi attire (Figure 39). The artist has chosen to retain the strap-line running beneath the images which reads, 'Today's Idols – Male.'⁶⁵ Paolozzi positions these great leaders of Fascism next to an undated advertisement for *Kellogg's Rice Crispies* in which the cartoon characters 'Snap,' 'Crackle' and 'Pop' appear inside a military tank. This surprisingly resonant comparison symbolically betrays the morality of Mussolini's

⁶¹ Kenneth E. Silver ed. 2011. *Chaos and Classicism – Art in France, Italy and Germany, 1918-1936* exh. Cat. Guggenheim Museum 1 Oct.–9 Jan. (Guggenheim Press), p.115.

⁶² This has been outlined in greater detail in Chapter 1.

⁶³ R. J. B. Bosworth. 2007. *Mussolini's Italy: Life under the Fascist Dictatorship, 1915-1945* (Penguin Books) and Martin Blinkhorn. 2006. *Mussolini and Fascist Italy* (Routledge) provide detailed accounts of Mussolini's rise to power.

⁶⁴ Roger Griffin. 1991. 'Italian Fascism,' *The Nature of Fascism* (Routledge Press), pp.56-85.

⁶⁵ Eduardo Paolozzi. C.1945. Scrapbook 'People in China' (Victoria and Albert Museum): AAD/1985/3/6/1.

Fascism which found its *raison d'être* in the heroism of militant nationalism.⁶⁶ War in the name of nationalist values was hoped to reinvigorate the nation, which by virtue of being 'glorious' was to be a stimulus to 'industrial production.'⁶⁷ Paolozzi's use of a cartoon characters cut out of a children's breakfast cereal packet to assert the presence of violence as integral to Fascism adds an additional layer of meaning, as if at this early stage in the artist's career he was already questioning the validity of Mussolini's war games.⁶⁸

The Italian Fascist campaign of propaganda became reality when the Italian economy turned around and Mussolini publicized public works projects and technological advances such as the flying boat. The dictator even got the trains running on time. The ideological basis for Fascism's New Order came from a number of sources.⁶⁹ Historians have argued that Mussolini utilized the works of Plato, particularly ideas such as opposition to democracy and the promotion of militarisation found in *The Republic*, an impetus toward violence drawn from Georges Sorel, and the socialist and economic ideas of Vilfredo Pareto, alongside Nietzsche's writings, which were extrapolated into a Fascist framework.⁷⁰ Nietzsche exhorted artists, poets and philosophers to lead mankind to a new and higher form of existence. He condemned the fetishization of narrow 'reason' for constantly trying to impose an order and a meaning upon a universe which he perceived had no such order and meaning. Rather, he argued that the universe is in a constant state of flux, plurality, chaos and becoming, and that scientific 'truth' was merely a crutch to protect people from the terrible truth of existing in an unknowable and hostile world.⁷¹ Nietzsche's vision was one of individualism. He attacked the nihilism of Christianity, its life-denying postponement of happiness to an afterlife,

⁶⁶ Jeffrey T. Schnapp. 2005. 'Flash Memories' reproduced in Claudia Lazzaro and Roger J. Crum ed., *Donatello among the Black shirts – History and Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London), p.224.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p.227.

⁶⁸ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1976-7. 'The Iconography of the Present,' *Eduardo Paolozzi: Sculpture, Drawings, Collages and Graphics* (Arts Council Exhibition, touring – Newcastle, Edinburgh, Leigh, Wolverhampton, Hull, Southampton, Cardiff, Kendal), u.p.

⁶⁹ Roger Griffin. 1991. 'Italian Fascism,' *The Nature of Fascism* (Routledge Press), pp.56-85.

⁷⁰ Alexander De Grand. 1989. *Italian Fascism: Its Origins & Development*, 2nd ed. (London and Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press), p.6.

⁷¹ Goloumb and Wistrich ed. 2002, p.268.

and the mediocre politics of social democracy. Nietzsche's theory of the artist as Übermensch and shaper of a new age was co-opted and reinvented by Mussolini for his conception of the New Man. For Mussolini, the objective was to make every Italian a superman. Mussolini himself defined Fascism as 'the greatest experiment in our history aimed at making the Italians.'⁷²

Mussolini's efforts to found *Uomo Nuovo* took hold in Italy in 1922.⁷³ The Fascists viewed themselves as the standard bearers of a new civilization: the new Italian state was to be young, masculine, strong and virile; no longer, as Claudia Lazzaro put it, 'soft and feminine, a terrain to be colonised by foreigners literally or figuratively.'⁷⁴ The renaissance of this new age of Italian Fascism would be created through the bloodshed of war. Mussolini perceived that his fellow Italians in particular had become uncompetitive with their European counterparts under Giolitti's rule.

Attractive to me: that is, to create a class of warriors, always ready to die; a class of inventors who hunt down the secret mystery; a class of industry, or great explorers, and of great leaders. Through a methodical selection, one can create the broad categories that will, in turn, create the Empire. Of course, this is a fabulous dream, but I see that, little by little, it is becoming a reality.⁷⁵

The emphasis Paolozzi placed on sourcing and fixing imagery of the machine with photographs of warfare, speed, high-rise cities and most particularly the male form in his scrapbooks of the early 1940s support Robin Spencer's contention that, 'Paolozzi is as much interested in the social context of culture as he is in the artefact that is its by-product.'⁷⁶ Within the intimate spaces of the pages of his scrapbooks

⁷² Berghaus. 1909. 'The Foundation of Futurism,' *Critical Writings* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006), p.110.

⁷³ Kenneth Silver ed. 2011. 2011. *Chaos and Classicism – Art in France, Italy and Germany, 1918-1936* exh. Cat. Guggenheim Museum 1 Oct.–9 Jan. (Guggenheim Press), p.120. To forge a New Italian was a major goal of Fascism. Unlike the Germans who reinvented themselves, the Italians had been bitter about how little they had received from Versailles allies, and as Kenneth Silver has evinced, 'had long harboured insecurities.' Fascism meant a new start for Italy.

⁷⁴ Lazzaro and Crum ed. 2005, p.118.

⁷⁵ Benito Mussolini quoted in Guiseppa Botta. 1927. 'Risultanze dell'inchiesta sull'arte fascista,' *Critica fascista* 5, no. 4, p.61.

⁷⁶ Frank Whitford. 1976. 'Inside the Outsider,' *Eduardo Paolozzi: Sculpture, Drawings, Collages and Graphics* (Arts Council Exhibition, touring – Newcastle, Edinburgh, Leigh, Wolverhampton, Hull, Southampton, Cardiff, Kendal), u.p.

the artist's formative worldviews and interests are revealed and they correlate closely with the propagandist rhetoric issued by the Italian Fascist regime. Paolozzi recycles an abundance of imagery of the athletic male body in action; boxing, cycling, fighting, driving, building or flying. His selective depictions of man are sympathetic with the attributes of the first version of the Fascist myth of the New Man which was incarnated by the young veterans called 'squadrists' from the Great War. The squadrists accepted the values of Fascism and defended the nation's religion.⁷⁷ They were champions of those virile, civic, and military virtues so valued by Mussolini. He was young, healthy in body and in mind, brave and full of enthusiasm for war, not weakened by the 'sentimentalism' of humanitarianism and tolerance.⁷⁸ In a newspaper article written by a Fascist supporter, published in Romagna in July 1933, any ideological affiliation between Nietzsche and Mussolini is nullified. It is suggested only 'the will to power' would be a link between their doctrines. The author perceives the will to power of Mussolini 'is not selfish', it is preached to all the Italians that il Duce 'wants to make supermen.'⁷⁹

2.5 The Body Cult

A greater degree of power corresponds to a different consciousness, feeling, desiring, a different perspectival view.

(Friedrich Nietzsche. 1885. reprinted and trans. Kate Sturge. 2003. *Friedrich Nietzsche: Writings from the Late Notebooks*, Cambridge University Press, p.112)

For Italian Fascism, the artist was a hero who would create perfect heroic bodies exemplary for national citizens. The model for the perfect man was drawn from art of antiquity. This return to the 'noble simplicity and quiet grandeur' of ancient art, to use Winckelmann's famous phrase, was claimed by Italy from a rediscovered Rome.⁸⁰ Mario Sironi deliberately developed a visual language for Italian Fascism from the ennobled Greek and Roman tradition. His *The Condottiere on Horseback* (1934-5), depicting Mussolini as horseman enshrines Mussolini within a tradition of

⁷⁷ Silver 2011, p.122.

⁷⁸ Steven Heller. 2008. *Iron Fists – Branding the 20th Century Totalitarian State* (Phaidon Press Ltd), p.89.

⁷⁹ Published by a newspaper while in Romagna by Marguerite G. Sarfatti, reproduced Michel Albin trans. 1927. *Mussolini* p. 117-21).

⁸⁰ Johann J. Winckelmann, in David Irwin. 1972. *Winckelmann: Selected Writings on Art* (London: Phaidon), p.35.

greatness, simultaneously asserting *il Duce* to be the new Caesar of a resuscitated Roman Empire (Figure 92).⁸¹ This heroic figure of the Leader astride a horse feeds into a long tradition of memorials of great men, like *Bartolemeo Colleoni* by master sculptor Verrochio which were anchored in the popular consciousness of the nation. Sironi published his precepts for painting, which were anchored in resurrecting anachronistic classical techniques, in his 'Manifesto of Mural Painting,' in December 1933 (the first issue of the new Milanese journal *Colonna* co-signed by Achille Funi, Massimo Campigli and Carlo Carrà). The artist's ambition for the new renaissance of the mural painting, especially fresco, was to allow for the clearest formulation of the 'plastic expression of the Fascist spirit.'⁸² The ambitious objectives of an art that needed to acquire a social, educative, and ethical function are apprehended in his manifesto:

By mural painting....we are addressing new issues relating to spatiality, form, and expression, as well as lyrical, epic or dramatic content. We envision a renewal of rhythms, of balance, and of constructive spirit, capable of connecting with a profound sense of meaning that had been obliterated by the triumph of Nordic realism in the nineteenth century....From Futurism [...] and Cubism until today, the path of painting has abandoned the tradition of naturalistic representation typical of the nineteenth century and seeks to establish architectural standards for the work. It creates balance and exists independently of what we observe and define as 'reality,' because there is a greater truth, similar in every respect to the other that constitutes a harmony of masses, surfaces, lines and colours that have been woven harmoniously and tightly into a new reality.⁸³

Sironi's first major opportunity to stage his mural painting was in 1933 at 5th Milan Triennale. Ugo Ojetti, an influential journalist exclaimed, 'the Triennale has decorated the staircase and salon with bas reliefs and frescoes...officials have had to reassure the Milanese that these will be destroyed as soon as the Triennale was over!'⁸⁴ To realize his ambitious mural project, Sironi drew on themes from current

⁸¹ Kate Flint. Oct. 1980. 'Art and the Fascist Regime,' *The Oxford Art Journal*, pp.49-54.

⁸² Marla Stone. Apr., 1993. 'Staging Fascism: The Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution,' *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 215-243.

⁸³ Mario Sironi. Dec.1933. 'Manifesto of Mural Painting' reprinted in Emile Braun. 2000. *Mario Sironi and Italian Modernism: Art and Politics Under Fascism* (Cambridge University Press), p.22.

⁸⁴ Ugo Ojetti was a conservative critic, writing for *Il lavoro fascista* and *Corriere della Sera* reprinted in Rifkind 2010, p.29.

events, but articulated them like historical events of Greco-Roman origin. He would narrate the sagas of modern man through the myths and legends of ancient humanity. Sironi's strategy for forging parallels between the contemporary and the classical was not simply to embed Fascism into a wider historical precedent, but to construct a bridge from Italian Fascism to the classical roots of humanism. The fresco technique required discipline and decisive technical execution. The artist, he believed, would have to renounce his ego and become a 'militant' artist who served a higher purpose. Thus, subordinating his individuality to a collective objective, this relationship mirrors the relationship of the individual with the wider ideals of Fascism, where, as with any totalitarian regime, 'all men have become one man.'⁸⁵

The importance of the heroic body for Fascism was its ability not to embody perfection, but racial purity. This new approach to the body was not so much about giving art an objective base as it was a desire to recast the notion of the ideal based on principles derived from 'Social Darwinism'. The biology of race was central to Nazism. Yet, as George Mosse has pointed out, it was a 'mysticism' of race and blood that was certainly part of the 'science of race.'⁸⁶ The argument for an official policy and creation of as 'Office of Racial Affairs in the Reich,' made by Ludolf Haase in 1934, presented the rationale: His central concern was with the infiltration of other 'races' and what impact this would have on the nature [*völkisch*] of the Germans.⁸⁷ This was closely linked with notions of racial hygiene. Medical science became suffused with mythological racial science in a bid to formulate the perfect Aryan race. Despite parallels between Nazi Germany's racist domestic and foreign policies and those of Italy existing, Mussolini was inconsistent with his application of racism in society. *Italianness* was promulgated as the most important feature of Italian Fascism. To bring together a people particularly endowed with 'creative genius, elasticity in improvisation, strength, ability and physical resistance, impetus,

⁸⁵ Mario Sironi. December 1933. 'Manifesto of Mural Painting,' reprinted in full in Braun. 2000. *Mario Sironi and Italian Modernism: Art and Politics Under Fascism* (Cambridge University Press), p.157-8.

⁸⁶ George Mosse. 1996. 'Fascist Aesthetics and Society: Some Considerations,' *Journal of Contemporary History* 31, p.245 – 252.

⁸⁷ Silver 2011, p.11.

violence, fury in the fight.⁸⁸ The adulation of the young vigorous body, of muscularity and masculine strength, were at the epicentre of Mussolini's ideology for the New Man of Italy. Paolozzi's initiation into the ways of Italian Fascism through his training as an *Avantgardisti* had equipped him with all the skills of Italy's New Man necessary to advance Empire: athleticism, mastery over weaponry, a thorough knowledge of the precepts of Fascism's purpose encoded in mantras and votive acts, and a willingness to self-sacrifice.

Mussolini had to eradicate Nietzsche's non-conformism before his ideas generated a model to best suit the Fascist plan for enculturation and standardisation of the masses. The dictator himself proclaimed, 'the mass is woman!' the populace was supposed to share with women characteristics of impulsiveness, instability, and irrationality.⁸⁹ It was necessary for the manly Mussolini and virile Fascist state to manipulate and control the populace.

...Freedom that can be a serious thing, the freedom of the state and the individual in the state. Since, for the Fascist, everything is in the state, and nothing human or spiritual exists, much less has value, outside the State. In this sense Fascism is totalitarian, and the Fascist state, a synthesis and a unity of all values, interprets, develops, and potentiates the whole life of the people.⁹⁰

An important factor in Fascism gaining support in its earliest stages was that it claimed to oppose discrimination based on social class and was strongly opposed to all forms of class war. Fascism instead supported nationalist sentiments such as a strong unity, regardless of class, in the hopes of raising Italy up to the levels of its great Roman past.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Luciano De Maria (ed.). 1973. *Filippo Tommaso Marinetti e il futurismo* (Oscar classici moderni. Milan: Mondadori).p.503.

⁸⁹ Lazzaro, Claudia and Roger J. Crum (ed.). 2005. *Donatello Among the Black shirts – History and Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London), p.119.

⁹⁰ Giovanni Gentile and Benito Mussolini. 1932. *The Doctrine of Fascism* reprinted in Mack Smith (ed.). 1979. *Mussolini's Roman Empire* (Penguin), p. 247.

⁹¹ Noel O'Sullivan. 1983. *Fascism* (J m Dent & Sons Limited), p. 140.

The Futurists captured the vitality and glorious energy of the nubile male body in action. Umberto Boccioni's *Dynamism of a Cyclist* (1913) and Carlo Carrà's *Horse and Rider* (1914) celebrate the call to fight in every piercing abstract form (Figure 93).⁹² Meanwhile *The Archer Wing Italian* (1932) by Lino Severi captures the dictator with string bow in action and Ernesto Thyraht's *The Great Helmsman* (1939) portrays Mussolini as a masked iron man resolutely steering his ship ever forward (Figure 94). Enumerable photographs taken of Mussolini demonstrate his prowess in various sports reinforcing the importance of physical fitness to male youths.⁹³ Sympathetic close-ups of Mussolini revealing his bulging muscles affirm the importance of masculine strength.⁹⁴ The best sportsmen would be the soldiers with greatest prowess on the battlefields, and best able to fight for Italy's glory.⁹⁵ The mass of imagery populating the pages of Paolozzi's early scrapbook showing close-ups of male athletes' showing off their sporting prowess, gymnasts weight training, boxers caught in head to head combat and soldiers at war, suggest the artist also explores the concept of the ideal male body. He is particularly fascinated with the celebrity Charles Atlas who appeared in body-building advertisements which claim to be able to transform 'a 97lb weakling' into 'the world's most perfectly developed man' (Figure 95). Inconsistencies with dating obfuscate when and to what extent irony plays a role in Paolozzi's iterations of this celebrity.⁹⁶ The image of Charles Atlas displaying his enormous well-defined bare chest is pasted into a variety of compositions in his scrapbooks of the 1940s and 50s. The well known star becomes a substitute in Paolozzi's scrapbooks for the *Ideal Man*: as an exemplary specimen of mankind in a scientific experiment, as a 'quick on the draw' swashbuckling cowboy, and a flawless pin-up movie star (Figure 96). He shows off masculine characteristics

⁹² Whitney Chadwick evinces the hardened and sharp geometric forms of Modernism to be a deliberately exclusive gendered language in, *Women Art and Society*, second edition revised and expanded, Thames and Hudson, (1990) 1996, p.409.

⁹³ Elda Guerra. 1999. 'Memory and Representations of Fascism: Female Autobiographical Narratives,' in R J B Bosworth and Patrizia Dogalinni ed. *Italian Fascism: History, Memory and Representation* (New York, St Martin's Press), pp.195 – 215.

⁹⁴ George Mosse. 1996. 'Fascist Aesthetics and Society: Some Considerations,' *Journal of Contemporary History* 31, pp.245 – 252.

⁹⁵ Jeffery T. Shnapp. 1996. *Staging Fascism: 18 BL and the Theatre of Masses for Masses* (Stanford University Press), p.15.

⁹⁶ Exhaustive cataloguing of the majority of Eduardo Paolozzi's Krazy Kat Archive collection has been conducted by the Archive of Art and Design at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Mr. Atlas features in scrapbooks, tear-sheets and collages, including AAD/1985/3/6/5, AAD/1985/3/6/7 and AAD/1985/3/6/10.

of strength by lifting a motorcar off of the ground, and desirability through his insertion next to beautiful women.⁹⁷

In his earliest forays into collage making the many and differing guises in which Charles Atlas appears in Paolozzi's scrapbooks tend to replicate faithfully those witnessed in propaganda surrounding il Duce's self-publicity. Fundamental to Mussolini's rise to power and continuing political success was his adoption of a plethora of identities to win over the public: Louis Servolini's *Lictor* (1937) represents Italy's dictator as working soldier, whilst Carlo Guarnieri metamorphoses Mussolini into a saint; Albino Manca's *The Leader* (1927) transforms il Duce's familiar contours into a profile of Caesar, and Gerardo Dottori strips Mussolini to the waist revealing his athletic physique engaged in building stone walls in *The Light of the Ancient Mother* (1937). Maximilian Mugge, a British supporter of Fascism put the concept of the Fascist ideal man succinctly, '...who will be a hero and a genius, uniting in himself all the partial excellences of former heroes – he will be strong and perfect man, both in body and in soul.'⁹⁸ The Fascist role model, modified from the Futurist, was a Nietzschean super-being with ultimate power, superior physical strength and warrior prestige. Mussolini and Mr. Atlas share a well-built physique promoting the *ideal* macho healthy body which by extension indicates their mental dexterity (Figure 97).⁹⁹ The body becomes a site to be controlled, its dimensions, race and religion to be scrutinized and categorized.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Eduardo Paolozzi, c.1947-9. *Psychological Atlas* (Victoria and Albert Museum), reference: AAD/1985/3/6/7.

⁹⁸ Maximilian Mugge reprinted in Dan Stone. 2002. *Breeding Superman: Nietzsche, Race and Eugenics in Edwardian and Interwar Britain* (Liverpool University Press), pp. 5-6

⁹⁹ Fascist body aesthetics were not exclusive to Italy, Nazi Germany made expectations of male youth of quintessential importance. The symmetry and fine contouring of the male photographed by Eugen Matthais in *Der Mannliche Korper*, Verlag (1931) propagandizes bodily perfection.

¹⁰⁰ Simonetta Fraquelli and Chris Green ed. 1999. *Gino Severini- from Futurism to Classicism* (Hayward Gallery), touring, p.xiii.

2.6 Manufacturing the Machine Age Hero

Exploring maleness and the masculine physique is a theme which unites Italian Fascist art and propaganda with Paolozzi's early career. David Walker, who originally catalogued the works and personally collected ephemera Paolozzi bequeathed to the University of St. Andrew's, known as the *Krazy Kat Archive*, so named after the cartoon character, cited 'Paolozzi's reoccurring exploration with the hero and his environment in the Machine Age' to be the dominant theme.¹⁰¹ In his early 1940s scrapbooks Paolozzi brings together an array of gender specific visual material, enveloping the male body in 'manly' activities: A World War II pilot is depicted at the helm waving to his comrades from the sky whilst an athletic looking mechanic repairs a motorcycle; an engineer scientifically analyses the contents of some test tubes and a cowboy mounts a horse; a craftsman busies himself with shaping a block of white marble with chisel and a mallet in hand, and male Hollywood movie stars rub shoulders with technological apparatus.¹⁰² The host of imagery the artist has collected to explore the concept of masculinity and the male form fits comfortably within the repertoire of poses and guises adopted by artists working under the aegis of Italian Fascism. More particularly, the ephemera juxtaposed by Paolozzi with depictions of Adonis' assert those qualities so keenly propagated in popular propaganda.

Paolozzi's selection and placement of imagery resonates strongly with the art sanctioned by Mussolini to further his Fascist campaign: Albert Janesch's *Water Sport* (c.1936) concentrates on articulating the flow of rippling male muscles

¹⁰¹ David Walker. 1973. *Introduction* for Archive Collection of Eduardo Paolozzi's Krazy Kat Archive, Research Fellow, University of St Andrews, u.p. The collection is presently housed at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

¹⁰² Eduardo Paolozzi Scrapbook, 'People in China,' the Krazy Kat Archive (Victoria and Albert Museum), reference: AAD/1985/3/6/5.

extending and contracting in synchronization with the lapping waves of the river, Franco Gentilini presents us with the sensual unclothed body and limbs of two athletic males in *Youth at the Seashore* (1934) who appear to be resting in a classical spa after competing on the field (Figure 98 and 99).¹⁰³ Mario Sironi's *The Motorcyclist* (c.1920) inter-relates masculinity with speed and technological dynamism, whilst *The Architect* (c.1933) articulates intellectual and artistic *ideal* male capabilities in angular planar forms (Figure 100).¹⁰⁴ Sironi's *Allegoria* (1925) revives Roman myth, projecting it into Fascist Italy; resolute in stature and indomitable in action these are the soldiers to extend Italy's Empires.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps the most homoerotic and grandiose eulogy of Fascist masculinity is Mussolini's Sports Stadium the *Foro Italico* (1933), erected in Rome to rival the Colosseum (Figure 101). Designed by Enrico Del Debbio assisted by rationalist Luigi Moretti, the *Foro Italico*, a city within a city, is a complex dedicated to Fascist obsession with youth and sports. The *Stadio dei Marmi* (Stadium of the Marbles), where Olympic athletes warm up for their events, is encircled by sixty statues, each representing an Italian city, together symbolizing Italian unity. Each lofty and aggressively honed male statue writhes in classical contrapposto.¹⁰⁶ Bedecked in Roman sandals and a loin cloth, these superior examples of the species represent a summit of Fascist perfection.¹⁰⁷

The model for the New Man needed to reassert ancient qualities. In 1924 one man wrote, 'it is a question of defending the warrior tradition of our race, to make Italian males, considered by foreigners as pasta eaters, mandolin players, etc. into men.'¹⁰⁸ The New Man whilst retaining those cultural and traditional qualities specific to the Italian male, must also present an unwavering commitment to embracing

¹⁰³ Kenneth E Silver, 'Heroic Bodies' in Kenneth E Silver, *Chaos and Classicism – Art in France, Italy and Germany, 1918-1936*, Guggenheim Museum 1 October, 2011 – January 9, 2011, p.235.

¹⁰⁴ Emily Braun. 2000. *Mario Sironi and Italian Modernism: Art and Politics Under Fascism* (Cambridge University Press), pp.27-35.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, p.66.

¹⁰⁶ George Mott, Luigi Ballerini, Michelangelo Sabatino and Georgio Armani. 2003. *Foro Italica* (PowerHouse Books, U.S.), p.16.

¹⁰⁷ Gillo Dorfles used the figures of the Foro Mussolini as part of his argument to define kitsch – condemning the Fascist sculptures as products of the propaganda machine of the regime. The Fascist representation of the classical body conveys clear political messages of quasi-religious importance through qualities of sensuality and structure that pertain to the decisions of the Fascist citizen's daily life. For a more in depth account read Gillo Dorfles. 1968. *Kitsch: the World of Bad Taste* (Studio Vista, Ltd., New York), p.82.

¹⁰⁸ Benito Mussolini quoted in Lazzaro and Crum ed. 2005. *Donatello among the Black shirts – History and Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London), p.122.

modernity. This New Man was both at one with new technology, using its man-made powers to surpass his mortality – i.e. in mechanized warfare and in industrial production – but was also, pro-nationalist, ruralist and ‘old fashioned’ in his approach to women and paternalistic role in the family unit.¹⁰⁹ The paradox inherent in this duality of the New Man looking backward and forwards at the same time is neatly actualized in Renato Bertelli’s *Continuous Profile of Mussolini* (*Profilo continuo del Duce*, 1933) (Figure 102). The impression of perpetual spinning invokes comparison to the twin faced Roman god Janus who looks to the future and the past, whilst also representing independent opposites such as war and peace. Sironi, perhaps Italy’s Fascist art’s greatest protagonist, emphasized the omnipresent eternalness of Fascism. Although removing ‘time and space’ from painting he knew to be an impossibility, he did suggest that Fascist art was on the same plane as Roman art, and that the future of Fascist art was to be in the living myth of Ancient Rome.¹¹⁰ To rival the legendary Colossus of Rhodes, Aroldo Bellini was commissioned in 1934 to create a bronze statue of il Duce as the embodiment of Fascism. Only the head and limbs were completed. One hundred metres high, this statue would have dominated the skyline of Rome. For Mussolini, Italy was a stage and he was to play leading protagonist.¹¹¹

It is clear that Paolozzi’s childhood exposure to Italian Fascism’s fetishised imagery of the mechanized man, inciting the men to fight for their country, had a profound impact on the artist’s visual consciousness. The ultimate machine man found perfect expression in reproduction images of Mussolini himself. Paolozzi features il Duce as a role model in his early 1940s scrapbooks; for example, he selects a photograph of Mussolini in uniform on horseback with his arm raised in salute asserting his militaristic prowess. ‘The Teacher,’ so the strap-line running beneath the image refers to the dictator, is dressed in full Fascist militaristic regalia complete with

¹⁰⁹For an in depth account of Roger Griffin.1998.‘The Sacred Synthesis: The Ideological Cohesion of Fascist Cultural Policy,’ *Modern Italy* Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 5-23.

¹¹⁰ Emily Braun. 2000. *Mario Sironi and Italian Modernism: Art and Politics Under Fascism* (Cambridge University Press), p.29.

¹¹¹ Sean Anderson. 2010. *The Light and the Line: Florestano Di Fausto and the Politics of 'Mediterraneità'*, California Italian Studies Journal (Italian Studies Multicampus Research Group), p.10.

flamboyant feathered hat (Figure 103).¹¹² Paolozzi's importation of this image complete with caption mimics the propaganda of the leader of the time which depicted the rulers in a standardized repertory of poses: reflective, inspired or indomitable, the fellow worker, kindly father or imperious master of the nation.¹¹³ This formularized image of Mussolini as equestrian warrior king - fitting him into a readymade history of heroic portraiture dating back to Etruscan and Greek origin- is positioned by Paolozzi next to a full-page image of a missile photographed in launching position.¹¹⁴ Mussolini is identified as expressing the grandeur and gravitas of the Cesar's of the former Roman Empire, and with embodying the quintessence of Futurist *elan vital* like the mechanized warhead into modern Italy.¹¹⁵ In both his formal guise of heroic soldier of the people and his association with a metallic warhead, Mussolini is identified as exerting an image of extreme masculinity: resoluteness, aggressiveness and virility, hardened for conflict.¹¹⁶ The warhead could be viewed as Mussolini's manhood firing into the passive receptacle known as woman, symbolically asserted by the circular aperture of a turbine engine. Paolozzi's use of metaphor resonates closely with the artist known as Thyat's stone and iron portrait *il Duce with Milestone* (1929). Thyat, otherwise known as Ernesto Michahelles's, compresses numerous images into a simple, single form celebrating the dictator's masculinity: an antique helmet, a bullet, and a phallus.¹¹⁷

More than simply cutting and pasting imagery asserting an awareness of Mussolini's characteristics as they were circulated in the 1930s and 40s, Paolozzi's selected cut-and-pasted full length portrait photograph of Mussolini in his 1940's 'People of China' scrapbook suggests the artist had a comprehensive understanding

¹¹² Paolozzi 'People in China' c.1945, u.p.

¹¹³ Frank Whitford 'The Cult of the Body,' *Art and Power: Europe under the Dictators 1930 – 45*, compiled by Dawn Ades, Tim Benton, David Elliott, Iain Boyd Whyte, exhibition catalogue, Hayward Gallery, London, 1995.

¹¹⁴ Günther Berghaus. 2007. 'New Research on Futurism and its Relations with the Fascist Regime,' *Journal of Contemporary History* 42, pp.149-160.

¹¹⁵ Fascist style evolved through various iterations and famously embraced some aspects of Futurism, the imperial Roman symbols – eagles, standards, daggers, and, of course, the fascio – were the foundation of fascist aesthetics. The use of the fascio in Italy was encouraged in countless commercial advertisements, package designs, and product displays, see Steven Heller. 2008. *Iron Fists – Branding the 20th Century Totalitarian State* (Phaidon Press Ltd), p.89.

¹¹⁶ Edward R Tannenbaum. 1972. *The Fascist Experience: Italian Society and Culture, 1922 – 1945* (New York), p.70.

¹¹⁷ Silver 2011, p.115.

of the ways of Fascism (Figure 105). The image of Mussolini depicts him smartly dressed in Fascist militaristic uniform, wrapped in medals and saluting to his people. The artist has retained the caption beneath the photograph of the dictator which acknowledges him as 'Creator of Fascism.'¹¹⁸ This central image of il Duce is surrounded with an array of separate but related images all corresponding to the identity of Fascism. A photograph depicting a vehicle camouflaged with political campaigning regalia surmounted by a speaker with a megaphone is located in to the upper right of the image of Mussolini. An image exemplifying the benefits of camouflage appears immediately next to that of the dictator, and a further image of a quarry appears directly below this photograph. The page is completed with a strap-line running across the top of the composition which reads, 'Revolution in Russia.' The opposite page further supports this collection of Italian Fascist characteristics by importing images of a working factory and a picture of a female nude. When viewed in context, the saluting Mussolini appears to be paying homage to the feminine form. As a whole, these selected cut-and-pasted images bring together the violent core of Fascism and its desire for revolutionary change with its dependency on industry for success. It also makes manifest the clearly defined gender roles inherent in the Fascist way of life, the man to defend and conquer, the woman to be decorative and demure.¹¹⁹

Paolozzi's portrayal of Mussolini relates closely to Alessandro Bruschetti's *Summary Fascist* (1935), which makes Mussolini the star of Italy's Fascism (Figure 104). Amongst modernist, multi-layered planes of dynamism every aspect of Fascism's ideological core is represented: guns, ammunition, telegraph poles, aeroplanes, the mast of a war ship, and a portrait of a helmeted youth ready for action. Positioned centrally, superimposed over the thick of the action, the vision of il Duce's indomitable face appears. He surveys the scene with an omnipresent eye, reminding the spectator of his autocratic position as Fascist leader.

¹¹⁸ Paolozzi 'People in China:' AAD/1985/3/6/1, u.p.

¹¹⁹ Hal Foster. 1991. 'Armor Fou,' *October* 56, p.85.

2.7 Gender Definitions

Little boys must –according to us– develop far away from little girls in order that their first game be clearly masculine, that is, free of emotional morbidity or womanly delicacy, lively, feisty, muscular and violently dynamic.

(F. T. Marinetti. 1918. *Come Si Seducono le Donne*, Deastore Press, p.14)

A vocabulary of masculinity was central to Futurism and Fascism. The urgent need for Italy to play a role, to regain international importance in art and political power heightened chauvinism and amplified a naive positivistic faith in progress.¹²⁰ If the Futurists, as Whitney Chadwick suggests, ‘harnessed their formal and stylistic innovations from an erotically based assault on female form,’¹²¹ Marinetti’s *Come Si Seducono le Donne* (1918) and Valentine de Saint-Point’s *Manifeste Futuriste de la Luxure* (1913) encouraged men to realise their sensual fantasies and shed sexual inhibitions within a male hegemonic structure.¹²² The male Italian Fascist elite demonstrated obedience to the regime by disciplining their bodies into angular contours so their streamlined figures transformed seamlessly into modernistic effigies. Conversely depictions of women exposed ample, eroticised flesh.¹²³ Arturo Martini’s *The Pisan Girl* (1932-33) based on a well known myth to Pisans, signals an escape from the machine age and retreats into an Italian idyll drawing on a heritage (Figure 107). The Pisan girl was the stoic wife of Carlino Altoviti, an Italian revolutionary and inveterate patriot.¹²⁴ She stood by her husband in the face of adversity. She consoled him for the punishment inflicted on him by the Grand Tribunal, later sacrificing herself to him by sharing in his exile. The tale closely relates to the heroine of Stendhal’s *Italian Chronicles* (1855). It also allegorizes the political ideal of Italy’s struggle for freedom. Echoing the pared-down purity of

¹²⁰ Karl Ruhrberg, Klaus Honnef, Manfred Scheneckenburger, Ingo F. Walther, Christiane Fricke, ‘Futurism,’ *Art of the Twentieth Century*, (Taschen), p.83.

¹²¹ Whitney Chadwick. 1996. *Women Art and Society*, (Thames and Hudson), p.279.

¹²² Steven Heller, *Iron Fists – Branding the 20th Century Totalitarian State*, Phaidon Press Ltd, 2008, p.89.

¹²³ Ibid, p.110.

¹²⁴ Romy Golan, *Mural Nomad – the Paradox of Wall Painting*, Europe 1927-1957, Yale University Press & New Haven, London, 2009, p.111.

Etruscan art, Martini's sculpture is explicitly erotic; the legs parted and the bottom raised in a subjugated position which demonstrates Italian Fascist art's reinforcement of gender difference.¹²⁵

Assumptions about gender roles permeated all aspects of Italian society. Laws of 1926 and 1927 prohibited women from holding certain government positions, including teaching history, philosophy and Italian literature in public school.¹²⁶ On average, they were paid half the salaries of men, after being charged double the fees of male pupils at university.¹²⁷ Women's role was domestic, they were encouraged as mother and child bearer, rather than in the affairs of state or in action.¹²⁸ Paolozzi's scrapbooks betray his own gendered image of the sexes. He conflates an air balloon commandeered by soldiers, with an illustration of a robot and a close-up of bare bottomed woman wearing a corset. Whilst the men are engaged in militaristic action bearing the responsibility of protecting their homeland, Woman tantalizes the male gaze with an eyeful of soft buttocks spilling out of their strictures (Figure 107).¹²⁹ In accordance with the cultural backdrop into which he was brought up Paolozzi has clearly defined male and female roles. He presents the 'manly' male with superior physical strength and intellectual ingenuity whilst his depiction of women, as Judith Butler has argued, 'have never emerged beyond erotic marginalia added to slick magazines.'¹³⁰ Whilst the artist anticipates the metallization of man by presenting this futuristic 'man of tomorrow,' Woman, conversely, is restricted from moving and evolving. Inhibited by her corset she is immobilized from social and intellectual growth and has the reductive function of sex object.¹³¹

Whilst Paolozzi's early collages are revealing about the artist's differentiation between gender roles, they also highlight the disparity between the numbers of

¹²⁵ Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies* (Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, c1987-c1989) Vol. II, p. 160.

¹²⁶ Claudia Lazzaro, 'Politicising a National Garden Tradition – the Italianness of the Italian Garden,' Claudia Lazzaro and Roger J. Crum ed., *Donatello among the Black shirts – History and Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 2005, p.122.

¹²⁷ Ibid, p.123.

¹²⁸ Whitney Chadwick. 1996. *Women Art and Society*, (Thames and Hudson), p.277.

¹²⁹ Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies* (Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, c1987-c1989) Vol. II, p. 162.

¹³⁰ Judith Butler. 1999. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the subversion of Identity* (Routledge), p.16.

¹³¹ Ibid, p.17.

representations of the male form compared with those describing the female form. The machine has been used to explain Paolozzi's preoccupation with the male physique since, as Diane Kirkpatrick notes, metamorphosing the masculine form into geometric, mechanized forms is a more natural formal evolution than the hardening of the female body.¹³² A reverse reading might also be true, that Paolozzi was keen on depicting the heroic male form relegating the formless feminine 'other' to erotic titillation. Recently uncovered collages, dating from the early to mid-1940s, pornographic in content, suggest underlying misogynistic tendencies. Enormous phalluses attack open vaginas, robotic men dissect breasts, and cosmetically enhanced eyes, baboons mate with page three models and sperm fly into elated female faces.¹³³ The pages of his early 1940s scrapbooks also contain erotic imagery: Paolozzi brings together an illustration of a Berliner-Poulsen Arcs radio with an image of female in a sequined bathing costume, and a photograph of a spitfire with the cartoon Snow White. The machine replaces the male presence in these compositions (Figure 108). It is as if the artist mirrors the characteristics of the one in the other. Man and machine have become part of an interchangeable language. Beneath the surface of this image of hard strength and perfection in Italian Fascist culture was a far more sinister rhetoric of gender. As Klaus Theweleit has documented, in the writings of the volunteer armies of the German Freikorps during World War I, masculinity is formulated as a rigid, tightly bound container in opposition to formless matter.¹³⁴ As Theweleit summarizes:

The most urgent task of the man of steel is to pursue, to dam in, and to subdue any force that threatens to transform him back into the horribly disorganized jumble of flesh, hair, skin, bones, intestines and feelings that calls itself human.¹⁴

¹³² Diane Kirkpatrick. 1970. *Eduardo Paolozzi* (London: Vista Studios), p.33.

¹³³ These undated collages (ten works on paper) form a part of The Mayor Gallery's collection of works by Eduardo Paolozzi in London. Scepticism surrounds the authenticity of these collages.

¹³⁴ Theweleit 1989, p. 162.

Theweleit goes on to recount, that formless realm of the physical was continually associated in the minds of the Freikorps with the feminine and with deeply threatening ego dissolution.¹³⁵

2.8 Science: the Modern Religion

Religion itself, faced with the collapse of certitude, has passed on everything to science excepting only dogma...reason can convince us of the impossibility of knowing, but it cannot give us reasons for faith.

(Amédée Ozenfant. 1931. *The Foundations of Modern Art* trans. John Rodker 1952. *Foundations of Modern Art*, Dover Publications, New York, p.151)

If Paolozzi's conceptualization of the metalized man can be most readily explained by his exposure to Italian art and culture in the lead up to World War II, it also parallels developments of a new branch of science which set about analyzing the structural similarities of systems of behaviour governing both living beings and mechanical entities. In a 1943 article, the mathematician Norbert Wiener and two co-authors defined behaviour as 'any change of an entity with respect to its surroundings,' which led them to examine purposeful, as opposed to random, behavioural mechanisms aimed at the performance of a specific task or goal, of which some were governed teleologically, or in their words, by 'feedback'.¹³⁶ Two years later, in the first application of the model on an organic system, they studied the human cardiac muscle in precisely these terms. In a system tasked with the purpose of providing blood to a living body, the nervous system provides electrical stimulation to the muscle, which reacts accordingly; this feedback causes the nervous system to subsequently compensate.¹³⁷ In 1948 Wiener published *Cybernetics, or Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine* (in which the term 'cybernetics' was coined), followed by a second book, *The Human Use of Human Beings* (1950), which conveyed concepts from the new science to a wide readership.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Ibid, p. 160.

¹³⁶ Arturo Rosenblueth, Norbert Wiener and Julian Bigelow. Jan. 1943. 'Behaviour, Purpose and Teleology,' *Philosophy of Science*, vol.10, pp.18–24.

¹³⁷ Wiener and Rosenblueth 1946, p.255.

¹³⁸ In fact, Lawrence Alloway noted the success of the popularisation of cybernetics when he located the first mass cultural reiteration of its ideas in an issue of *Amazing Stories*, published in the same year as *The Human Use of*

The scientific study of systems operating with feedback and control mechanisms was extended in the latter publication to a whole host of human interactions with the physical and social environment. Since it is the extension of these ideas to the realm of modifying human physiognomy and behaviour that concerns us, it is worth quoting Wiener on this subject at length:

Man is immersed in a world which he perceives through his sense organs. Information that he receives is co-ordinated through his brain and nervous system until, after the proper process of storage, collation, and selection, it emerges through effector organs, generally his muscles. These in turn act on the external world, and also react on the central nervous system through receptor organs as the end organs of kinaesthesia; and the information received by the kinaesthetic organs is combined with his already accumulated store of information to influence future action.¹³⁹

As the bridge between the fantasy of a technologically developed human being and scientific reality converge, Paolozzi sources visual ephemera which make fantasies become realities.

The reading material from which Paolozzi reaped his images to create his collages betrays his particular interest with bridging the 'gap' between fact and fiction. Archived within the Krazy Kat Collection are large quantities of magazines and journals some of which focus on science and applied science, such as: *Popular Mechanics*, *Scientific American*, *Science Horizons*, *Popular Science*, *Practical Wireless* or *Practical Electronics*; whilst a large proportion of the collection is pulp fiction: *Science Fiction Monthly*, *Science Fiction Fortnightly*, *Astounding Science Fact and Fiction*, *Cosmic Science Stories*, *Flying Saucers from Other Worlds*, *Magnus*, *Robot Fighter Stories*, *Marvel Super Heroes* and *Wonder Woman*. Paolozzi's scrapbooks contain a selection of cut-and-pasted images from these scientific journals and science fiction comics. Within the privacy of these compendiums of images, articles and miscellaneous ephemera

Human Beings. See Lawrence Alloway. 2006. 'The Arts and the Mass Media,' *Architectural Design*, vol.28, no.2, Feb. 1958, pp.84-5.

¹³⁹ Norbert Wiener. 1954. *Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society* (Boston), p.17.

there are continuous juxtapositions of scientific inventions such as radiation barometers, innovative factory machinery, cutting-edge automobile designs, aeronautical apparatus brought together with comic strip heroes, fictional landscapes of the moon, robots and space aliens. What is most revealing from this marriage of disparate imagery is how the artist's perception of the machine evolves over time. If, in his earliest scrapbooks the imagery supports the brave new world of technologies invoked by Futurism and the pre-War *zeitgeist* and are committed to building a new human race with a greater resilience, evidence of a shift in Paolozzi's beliefs about Man's relationship with the machine are apparent after 1945.

Using the body as a site for expressing reactions to changes within the industrialized landscape of modern world was far from being a new concept. After the mass deaths of the first truly industrialized war, which was World War I, 'the first position of resistance in the name of the natural body,' as Hal Foster has suggested, became difficult to hold. Affirmations of the natural body were, as Foster went on to elucidate, 'mostly therapeutic or compensatory,' immediately after the War.¹⁴⁰ The period was dominated by two tendencies: on the one hand a move toward neoclassicism that was in part a reaction to the mutilated bodies of war victims and to the fragmented figures of high modernist art (Cubist above all); on the other hand, variations on what Foster has aptly referred to as 'mechanic modernisms,' which attempted to build a New Man befitting of a new age.¹⁴¹ In his early work Paolozzi moved between 'positions' in his attempt to realize a fully comprehensive depiction of modern man. Neither fully real, nor fully imagined, Paolozzi's alter ego manifested itself in multiple incarnations which he brought to life through his clever cutting and pasting of visual imagery from factual and fictional sources. After World War II the Modernist effigy of the New Man had lost its *l'esprit nouveau*. The post-war mechanisation of the human body in Western art has widely been interpreted as a critique of the dehumanising extremes carried out

¹⁴⁰ Hal Foster. 2004. *Prosthetic Gods* (MIT Press), p.114.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, p.116.

in the name of Fascism.¹⁴² This reactionary response to the horrors carried out in the name of Nazi ideology, was later compounded by a reaction against the crude political posturing of Cold War propaganda by East and West.

This shift between a pre and a post World War II understanding and interpretation of humankind's relationship with the machine is articulated by Paolozzi in his scrapbooks which transition the period between the early to late 1940s. For example, on the opening page of a scrapbook dating from the mid 1940s a portrait of a man with a prosthetic arm lighting a cigarette is positioned amongst technological equipment and motor vehicles, and an illustration of the sculpture of Laocöon (Figure 109), which creates an open dialogue between technological progression and Laocöon's tragedy.¹⁴³ The man's prosthetic arm is unclothed and the mechanism which controls the arm's movement is displayed. It comprises a structure resembling a metal spring, a number of electronic, message-carrying wires, and a hand-shaped prosthesis,¹⁴⁴ the fingers of which have the ability to move since the man is clasping a cigarette lighter and is in the process of lighting-up. The selection of the image of Laocöon being juxtaposed next to the man with the prosthetic arm is significant because of the metaphorical implications it has for both humankind and the machine. It suggests that Paolozzi's confidence in the life-enhancing properties of the machine have been challenged. Have discoveries in science made the artist question humankind's control over the technologies he invents? Might it be possible that the machine, rather than enabling mankind, might conceivably have imperatives independent of human's will? Paolozzi brings the struggle being articulated in the Laocöon up to date, by posing the possibility that scientific inventions have powers beyond human control.

¹⁴² For a thorough investigation of the depiction of the human figure and its relationship with mechanization see Hal Foster. 1993. *Compulsive Beauty*, Cambridge, Mass. and London, p. 122, this is further explored in Alyce Mahon. 2005. *Surrealism and the Politics of Eros 1938 - 1968*, Thames & Hudson, p. 247. A comprehensive overview appears in Raymond Spiteri and Donald LaCoss (eds.). 2003. *Surrealism, Politics and Culture*, Studies in European Cultural Transition, Volume 16, Ashgate, Aldershot and Burlington, 352pp.

¹⁴³ Paolozzi Scrapbook: AAD/1985/3/6/7.

¹⁴⁴ This is the first of several uses Paolozzi makes of the Laocöon, the original of which is housed in the Vatican in Rome.

Part II

Post War Departure: Worshipping False Idols

Beauty exists only in struggle. There is no masterpiece that has not an aggressive character.

(F. T. Marinetti. 1909. 'The Futurist Manifesto' reprinted in John Whittam. 1995. *Fascist Italy*, Manchester University Press, p.201)

No sooner had World War II ended than talk of a third, atomic war began. At the time Paolozzi was making his collage incorporating an image of the Laocoon in one of his scrapbooks, a new Atomic Age was dawning. This new era was dominated by the emergence of East and West power blocks engaged in an ideological Cold War. If, before the period 1945-7, Paolozzi's collages reveal the artist's sympathies with Fascist Italy's ethics and ideologies – more particularly those identifications made regarding the creation of a New Man enhanced by new technologies – after 1945 there is a discernible shift in the artist's perspective. Paolozzi's use of the Laocöon amidst a plethora of scientific and technological inventions metaphorically asserts

the looming threat of the destructive forces posed by advanced nuclear technology which were capable of destroying their maker (Figure 109). His collage book *Psychological Atlas* (1947-9), so called after a book by the same title published in 1948 by psychologist David Katz, explores the artist's mental wanderings on a post War world.¹⁴⁵ Its layout and selection of reproduction photography was directly inspired by Moholy-Nagy's *Vision in Motion* (1947), of which, as Michael Middleton notes, the artist had an early copy; this forty-two page scrapbook penetrates beneath the surface of things:¹⁴⁶

One of the functions of the artist in society is to put layer upon layer, stone upon stone, in the organisation of emotions...It is the artist's duty today to penetrate yet unseen ranges of the biological functions, to search the new dimensions of the industrial society and to translate the new findings into emotional orientation...the intuitive power is present in other creative workers too, in philosophers, poets, scientists, technologists. This basic identity is the common denominator, the desire today to find and investigate the fundamentals in every field so that they can become constructive parts of a new civilisation.¹⁴⁷

Each page is compiled of recycled ephemera from magazines pasted over pages taken from *Kunstschaffen in Deutschland* (Art from Germany), an exhibition catalogue dating from 1949. This exhibition surveyed modern German art, in particular those works which had been prohibited from public display during Hitler's reign.¹⁴⁸

At this time, whilst Paolozzi was living in Paris from 1947 to 1949, he rediscovered, as he put it, the 'relics of the pre-war Dada and Surrealist movement.'¹⁴⁹ Compositions such as one in which a neatly cropped image of a seal is incongruously placed in front of a suburban house, or a close-up of an elephant's hide is curled-up on itself and affixed with illustrations of eyes to create a face and a huge bust of Queen Victoria on a steam engine remind us of Surrealism's

¹⁴⁵ John Paul Stonard. Spring 2011. 'Eduardo Paolozzi's Psychological Atlas,' *October Magazine* (MIT Press), pp.51-62.

¹⁴⁶ Michael Middleton. 1963. *Eduardo Paolozzi* (London: Methuan), p.iv.

¹⁴⁷ Laszlo Moholy-Nagy. 1947. *Vision in Motion* (Paul Theobald, Chicago), p.29.

¹⁴⁸ Eduardo Paolozzi. c.1947-9 *Psychological Atlas*, u.p.

¹⁴⁹ John Paul Stonard. Spring 2011. 'Eduardo Paolozzi's Psychological Atlas,' *October Magazine* (MIT Press), pp.51-62.

unexpected juxtapositions (Figure 110).¹⁵⁰ Paolozzi's exposure to Surrealist artefacts first came about in 1946 through his friendship with Margaret Gardner, who he used to visit from time to time.

...practically next-door was Roland Penrose's house which was a total different kettle of fish, full of the most extraordinarily good Surrealist paints, and Picassos of course, so...and Roland even had, I mean he had learnt, he had used his eyes when he visited Picasso, because the house was kind of a recreation of what might have been a house that belonged to Max Ernst, lots of bizarre objects scattered around, and even a glass case full of small objects, including Roman erotic art, things like that. But he had some classic Max Ernst including one I used to stare at which was made up of cuttings out of a natural history book of sort of biology, and he had cut them all out and made a kind of, invented a new landscape.¹⁵¹

Another montage assembled from an image of a fashionably dressed woman positioned between an advertisement for a bottle of cologne and an aggressive insect-like iron trap readily recalls Alberto Giacometti's treatment of the female figure in *Woman with Her Throat Cut* (1932).¹⁵² Paolozzi was introduced to Alberto Giacometti by Isabel Delmar, wife of the Daily Express correspondent Sefton Delmar. She had posed as a model for Giacometti whilst living on and off in France.¹⁵³ Like Giacometti, Paolozzi muses on the differing faces of woman, both as perfumed temptress and as brutally erotic and vengeful lover. Woman is seen in horror and longing as both victim and victimizer of male sexuality.

Other scenes captured within this compendium are filled with a spirit of anarchistic discontent, some of which have a decidedly anti-war flavour and ridicule the meaninglessness of the modern world in keeping with a Dada sensibility. Kurt Schwitters *Merz* works of the late 1940s share many qualities with Paolozzi's post War collages. The black comedy evident in Schwitters collage, such as *This was before*

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, p.28.

¹⁵¹ Eduardo Paolozzi in interview with Frank Whitford, British Library: C466/17/F4988-A, p.109.

¹⁵² Eduardo Paolozzi, interview with Richard Cork, broadcast on BBC Radio 3, March 1986. Cited in R. Spencer, ed.: *Eduardo Paolozzi: Writings and Interviews*, Oxford 2000, p.65. For a contemporary appraisal of Giacometti that Paolozzi knew, see: Michel Leiris, 'Contemporary Sculptors VII – Thoughts around Giacometti', trans. Douglas Cooper. June 1949. *Horizon*, 19, pp.411-17.

¹⁵³ Their friendship had been brought about through Anna Philips. Anna was the wife of Rodney who had taken an interest in Paolozzi's work in his earliest days, buying one of his *Fisherman* drawings at his first show at Mayor Gallery.

HRH The Late Duke of Clarence & Avondale Now it is a Merz picture. Sorry! (1947), resonates closely with examples from Paolozzi's *Psychological Atlas* (Figure 111). Schwitters reinvigorates a portrait photograph of Prince Albert Victor through his insertion of an empty box of 'Wordonia' safety razors. The artist makes a witty comment on the rumours surrounding the Prince linking him to the serial murders which took place in London, it being suggested among other things that Albert Victor was Jack the Ripper. Schwitters masks one half of the Prince's face with a black silhouette further implying the sitter had a sinister double life. Paolozzi's collage, using a cartoonish illustration of a clown wearing a pointed 'naughty' hat in his *Psychological Atlas*, shares Schwitters's Dada sensibility. The absurd figure of the clown has been parachuted into a desolate landscape strewn with armed soldiers fleeing from blasts of artillery explosions.¹⁵⁴ Paolozzi's incorporation of this maverick protagonist into the fray asserts a mocking presence amongst the antics taking place on the battlefield. Confronted with the machine's mass destruction of life and apprehending the machines to be more powerful than the men who invented and operated them, Paolozzi begins to see them as a hostile force.

Paolozzi's new-found resistance to the machine, his perception of its negative rather than exclusively positive implications for humanity are most compellingly articulated in his scrapbook entitled *Psychological Atlas* which presents examples of images mediating on recent events in the War. An exemplary example is a collage set within a World War II fighter aircraft's interior. Paolozzi overlays the reproduction image depicting soldiers readying their parachutes to jump out of an aircraft with an image of an enormous orang-utan (Figure 112). The importation of this absurd t-shirt-wearing primate asserts the presence of the ultimate anti-protagonist, being neither *ideal* in body nor in mind. Paolozzi satirises the heroic *ideal* and undermines the militaristic code of honour embodied in the soldier willingly giving up his life to serve his country by subversively suggesting that acting on orders without relying on independent thought renders Man an imbecilic

¹⁵⁴ Eduardo Paolozzi. c.1947-9. *Psychological Atlas* (Victoria and Albert Museum, Krazy Kat Archive), u.p.

ape. The concept of the hero is further explored with a further rendition of the bodybuilder Charles Atlas making an appearance in *Psychological Atlas* (Figure 114).¹⁵⁵ Mr. Atlas positioned in a crouching position and pointing to the spectator urging 'us' to join him in his heroic crusade is, I would suggest, a satire of Alfred Leete's 1914 military recruitment poster featuring Lord Kitchener with the slogan, 'Britons: Lord Kitchener Wants You. Join Your Country's Army! God save the King.' This poster has often been seen as a driving force helping to bring millions of men into the Army and has inspired numerous imitations. The cut-and-pasted images of a rock, which in turn is overlaying an image of a cowboy on to which Charles Atlas is superimposed, parody other heroic ideals: The men of myth and the cowboys of legend. For Paolozzi, inhabiting a post War world these heroes have lost their power. If once Man had seen himself as the agent for technological change and had considered himself Master of the Universe, he now perceived the machine to have usurped this position.

Further pages in Paolozzi's *Psychological Atlas* are equally revealing about the artist's changed attitude toward the machine: for example, the artist pastes a photograph of a motorcar within a deserted landscape. The vehicle, driven by a cut-out tombstone in the shape of an angel, seems to be quite literally on the road to Hell (Figure 113).¹⁵⁶ Disconcerting portent of a world whose reliance on the machine becomes more and more prescient, Paolozzi's implications for the future of humanity are at best doubtful. Indeed, the composition on the penultimate page of the scrapbook imports a familiar robot recycled from a magazine advertisement (which features in earlier 1940s workbooks) within a desolate graveyard.¹⁵⁷ The multi-purpose robot – originally invented to help humans with day-to-day tasks – is derailed from its purpose. Instead of assisting with tasks, the robot has taken command of its functions and wields weapons arbitrarily like a mutant assassin (Figure 115). Surrounding the robot, remnants of tombstones, bones, skulls and other detritus

¹⁵⁵ Paolozzi *Psychological Atlas*, u.p.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

suggests its successful eradication of living things. It is possible that Paolozzi, in the vein of Gyorgy Lukacs, witnesses the machine as a mirror of ourselves and what 'we' have done to our planet. Lukacs points out that it was not just industrial technology but the *entire* world of matter (including human beings) that would be transformed by technology. He termed technology 'second nature', to describe the synthetic world created by humans.¹⁵⁸ This technologised world, despite being of their own creation, was one no longer recognized by Man as their own. The machine embodies that which is made by human hands, but is alien to human nature. Robots, as Diane Kirkpatrick points out, 'may be programmed to imitate most human functions but they cannot experience emotion.'¹⁵⁹ It is Man's instinct to recoil from the robot because the robot forces us to confront how our conceptions of ourselves have been transformed by technology. Like looking in a warped mirror, we see in the robot a distorted and disturbing image of ourselves.

2.9 'Useless Machines'

It is necessary to clarify the word 'useless:' they are useless because they do not make anything; they do not eliminate labour, they do not save time and money, and they do not produce any commodities.

(Bruno Munari.1953. 'Mechanisation disintegralism total art organic art public danger,' *Movimento Arte Concreta* (MAC), no.10 .reprinted in Tanchis 1987, p.71.)

Paolozzi's fascination with the relationship of humankind and machine persists, but his pre-War excitement for a much-anticipated technological future is now being examined with a new skepticism. Open references and a gradual distancing from many of the ideas and suggestions produced within the Futurist movement and demonstrated within wider Fascist culture are manifestly apparent. His friendship with Nigel Henderson introduced him to his mother Wynn who 'was involved with a left-wing publisher called 'Lawrence & Wishert[ph].' She used to take Henderson and Paolozzi to Communist meetings 'above pubs.'¹⁶⁰ Robin Spencer has noted the impact Paolozzi's reading of Lewis Mumford's prophetic *The Culture of Cities* (1938),

¹⁵⁸ Georgy Lukacs. 1971. *History and class consciousness* (London, Merlin), p.86.

¹⁵⁹ Kirkpatrick 1970, p.31.

¹⁶⁰ Audio interview with Eduardo Paolozzi and Frank Whitford (British Library asc. Ref: C466/17/F4988-A).

The Condition of Man (1944), and later *The City in History* (1961) had on the artist.¹⁶¹ Mumford reveals the fear that beneath mechanization's superficial regard for improving life there lays a deep contempt for organic processes.

Mumford suggests, 'the popular technology of our time devotes itself to contriving means to displace autonomous organic forms with ingenious mechanical (controllable! profitable!) substitutes.' Why, he asks, should Man now confront the machine, 'whose physical laws he discovered, whose body he created, whose rhythms he anticipated by external feats of regimentation in his own life?' He argues that the machine could only take possession of European society when that society had willingly surrendered to it.¹⁶² These speculative visions parallel Paolozzi's own increasingly critical view of humankind's uses of science and technology. Similarly nihilistic, Mumford tended 'to arrive at a universal megalopolis, mechanized, standardized, effectively dehumanized, as the final goal of urban evolution. Whether they extrapolate 1960 or anticipate 2060 their goal is actually '1984'.'¹⁶³ The machine is not viewed by Paolozzi as inherently flawed in conception, but, in a similarly to his Italian contemporaries, more particularly Bruno Munari, it is humankind's (mis)use of its potentialities will lead to his downfall.

Paolozzi's move away from Futurist/Fascist inspired imagery and ideology parallels the explorations and inversions of Italian Modernist aesthetics made by Bruno Munari.¹⁶⁴ In the early 1930s, Munari started producing his so-called *Useless Machines*, which were hanging objects in the style of Man Ray's aerial construction (the famous lampshades) or Calder's mobiles, although they pre-date the latter. Built with very light materials like paper, light weight wooden sticks and cotton threads they could be read as surreptitious, ironic gestures against Futurism's preoccupation with glorifying the life changing properties of the machine by

¹⁶¹ Robin Spencer. 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi Writings and Interviews*, edited by Robin Spencer (Oxford University Press), p.xxi.

¹⁶² Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilisation*, Mariner Books, (1934), 1963, p.318.

¹⁶³ Ibid, p.318.

¹⁶⁴ Munari was one of the few Futurists who had practical, hands-on experience of machines and machinery since he was trained as an engineer. Technology for Munari, was not a mythical invention it was an instrument, a construction for 'doing' something.

undermining the industrial processes and materials of iron and steel praised by the Futurists. With no definable function excepting being decorative these ‘machines’ are Dadaist in spirit (Figure 66).¹⁶⁵ Being a member of the Milione gallery, Munari was brought together with an artistic élite from all parts of an International artistic community. Founded by Gino Ghiringheli and directed by Edoardo Persico, the editor and director of *Casabella*, the aim of the venue was to oppose the provincial and nationalistic rhetoric extolled by the Fascist regime.¹⁶⁶ His exposure to Lucio Fontana, Atanasio Soldati, Mauro Reggiani and Luigi Veronesi, as well as Vinicio Paladini and Jean-Michel Folon, under the guidance of Enrico Prampolini, extended Munari’s artistic vocabulary.¹⁶⁷ He gained access and an understanding of influential French journals such as *Abstraction-Création* (1932), *Circle et Carré* (1930) and *Cahiers d’Art* (1926-1960), which allowed him to become familiar with the artistic research of Surrealism and Dadaism, the early experimentation of Moholy-Nagy and of Russian Constructivism.¹⁶⁸

Paolozzi shares with Munari, not simply an interest in the machine but also an interest in creating compendiums of collaged ephemera. Paolozzi’s *Psychological Atlas* might look alien when compared with contemporary British practice, but become much more familiar when compared with experimentation happening across Europe, and Italy in particular. Munari’s collage book of forty eight pages, *The unknown forces of the soul and all the comforts required by today’s* (1936), perhaps ironically now residing in the International Institute of Futurism Studies in Milan, shares many similarities with Paolozzi’s scrapbooks.¹⁶⁹ Munari shares with Paolozzi a playful insistence with interchanging between techniques used by eclectic artistic movements (Moholy-Nagy’s New Vision, Constructivism, Dada, Surrealism and Futurism). They freely conflate differing avant-garde ‘styles’ navigating away from Futurism through satire: whilst Paolozzi reaps an image of a running man from a

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, p.16.

¹⁶⁶ Two copies of *Casabella* magazine, dating from the 1930s are held in Paolozzi’s Karzy Kat archive.

¹⁶⁷ David Rifkind. 2010. *Battle for Modernism: Quadrante and the Politicization of Architectural Discourse in Fascist Italy* (Florida International University), p.29.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Bruno Munari. 1936. *The unknown forces of the soul and all the comforts required by today’s needs* (Institute of International Studies Futurism, Milan), u.p.

magazine and fixes him amidst a separate photograph of geese, possibly commenting on the absurdity of male competitiveness, Munari dissects an image of the athletic male form in half, leaving the upper body of an image of the sprinter static in an undefined blank space rendering the man's efforts to impel forward ridiculous (Figure 116).¹⁷⁰ Paolozzi and Munari are contesting Futurist notions of dynamism, movement, and speed. In opposition to Futurist use of 'lines of force' and Futurist artists' use of multiple overlapping images to render movement – an exemplary example being Balla's *Dynamism of a Dog on a Leash* (1912) – the figures in Paolozzi's and Munari's collages are flattened and immobile, their kinetic potentialities are mocked.

The artists share a preoccupation not just with speed, but, more particularly, with the scientific concept of space-time. They move between a vocabulary derived from Surrealism, and the surging abstract imagery inspired by the early photomontage experimentation of Moholy-Nagy and of Russian Constructivists. This is most apparent in the final collage of Paolozzi's *Psychological Atlas* and Munari's illustrations for *La rivista illustrata del Popolo d'Italia*, such as, *Per il quinto di secondo* (*For the Fifth of a Second*), which both incorporate images of clock faces within their compositions (Figure 117 and 118).¹⁷¹ Switching across artistic 'styles' is apparent once again in Munari's more whimsical compositions within the same compendium; one collage brings together disparate objects such as a bottle opener, a ship's port hole, an image of a pear, and metamorphoses these everyday items into a Surreal forest. Munari then populates this imaginary landscape of trees with a magazine cut-out of a woman on her hands and knees as if in search of something, with an illustration of automaton owl invoking the 'Alice in Wonderland' quality of Max Ernst's collage (Figure 119). Paolozzi also transforms the everyday use of

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, u.p.

¹⁷¹ Laura Panizza, L'incontro di Bruno Munari con la didattica attiva I fondamenti pedagogici dei laboratori Giocare con l'arte, Ricerche di Pedagogia e Didattica, 4, Pedagogia Generale, 2009, pp.8-13.

objects into the marvellous: a light bulb doubles up as a steam-train, a monkey takes a ride into space and a goat drives a motor-cycle (Figure 120).¹⁷²

Nevertheless, there are disparities between Munari and Paolozzi. If Munari naturalises the place of the machine by communicating that its essential dynamic principles act in symbiosis with organic energies located in the natural world, Paolozzi's *Psychological Atlas* defines the machine as an oppositional force disconnecting Man from Man and from nature. The opening double-page spread announcing the volume's sub title, 'Histoire Naturelle,' hovers next to an image of a semi-naked man and an anonymous open mouthed head reminiscent of Francis Bacon's series of painted *Heads* in 1948 (Figure 120).¹⁷³ This grimacing face is pasted over part of an exhibition catalogue where the word 'Germany' has been unmasked. Could Paolozzi be inferring this faceless man is a Nazi dictator? Or perhaps more generally commenting on autocratic power wielded over the vulnerable? Paolozzi seems to be simultaneously commenting on wartime recovery and foreshadowing nuclear holocaust.

2.10 Existential Visions: Paolozzi and Bacon

What painting had never shown before is the disintegration of the social being, which takes place when one is alone in a room which has no looking glass.

(John Russell, *Francis Bacon*, London, Paris and Berlin 1971, 2nd ed. London and New York 1979, 3rd ed., 1993, p.121)

Psychological Atlas is not the only work made by the artist in the late 1940s which shares qualities with Bacon's paintings of the same period. Indeed, far from asserting simply superficial similarities, Paolozzi was aware of Bacon's work and has been vocal about his admiration for the artist. He commended 'his unbelievable honesty,' and his 'kind of mystery.'¹⁷⁴ He was one of the few artists on the London scene Paolozzi held in esteem: 'it was very difficult to say at that time why the

¹⁷² Bruno Munari. 1936. *The unknown forces of the soul and all the comforts required by today's needs* (Institute of International Studies Futurism, Milan), u.p.

¹⁷³ Paolozzi 1947-9 *Psychological Atlas*, u.p.

¹⁷⁴ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1993-5. Audio interview with Frank Whitford (British Library asc. ref: C466/17/F4988-A), p.101.

paintings were spectacular, but one was very much influenced and moved by him, his belief...'¹⁷⁵ In interview with Frank Whitford Paolozzi reveals he was first made aware of Francis Bacon by Peter Rose Pulman, who Paolozzi spent much time with whilst in Paris.

I saw him practically every day. He used to paint every day, and after, he was staying in a hotel between the Rue Visconti and the Ile St. Louis, quite generous, living on a pittance, and we used to always have an evening omelette which he cooked in the fireplace. And he used to keep saying to me, there's a wonderful man who does things in London, you will have to go and see him when you go to London next time, and I did, and he was living in the Cromwell Place at the time, and Bacon cooked tagliatelli with walnuts, which was wonderful.¹⁷⁶

Similarly to Paolozzi, Bacon never entered active service. He worked as an ARP (Air Raid Precaution) warden in London during the Blitz. Fiona Pearson has suggested that Paolozzi and Bacon's friendship flourished at the Colony Club where they both spent time.¹⁷⁷ In what follows it will be suggested that a dialogue between Paolozzi and Bacon's contemporaneous practice existed and that through a better understanding of Bacon's work Paolozzi's own intentions will become clear.

After the war, Bacon rapidly established himself as an artist of repute. In April 1945, he exhibited *Three Studies for Figures at the Base of the Crucifixion* (1944) and *Figure in a Landscape* (1945) in a group exhibition at the Lefevre Gallery. The following year he showed *Figure Study I and II* and *Man with Microphones* (1946), also at the Lefevre, and *Painting* (1946) at Redfern Gallery. Film critic and author Roger Manvell (writing as Roger Marvell), observed Bacon's *Figure Study I* and *Figure Study II* at the Lefevre Gallery in February 1946. In a show in which Ben Nicholson and Graham Sutherland were officially headlining (Bacon shared second billing with Colquhoun, Craxton, Freud, MacBryde and Trevelyan), Manvell wrote in the *New Statesman*:

¹⁷⁵ Eduardo Paolozzi quoted in John Paul Stonard, 'Used Future: The Early Sculptures of Eduardo Paolozzi,' in Peter Seltz and John Paul Stonard. 2011. *Eduardo Paolozzi: Archaeology of a Used Future, Sculpture 1946-1959* (Jonathan Clark Fine Art in association with the Paolozzi Foundation), p.22.

¹⁷⁶ Paolozzi 1993-5, p.45.

¹⁷⁷ Fiona Pearson. 1999. *Paolozzi*, (National Galleries of Scotland: Dean Gallery, published by the Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland), p.14.

There is nobody in England who can paint better, and only two or three who can paint anything like as well [...] the handling is consummate. I should suggest an affinity with Velázquez, if I did not know that somebody would at once attribute to me the view that Mr. Bacon is as great a painter as the Spaniard. [...] I find his compositions hard to grasp; but what excitement to find in a young English painter such staggering virtuosity.¹⁷⁸

Wyndham Lewis first indicated the esteem in which he held Francis Bacon in an article published in December 1946:

A visitor to London galleries, seeing the Picassos brought here by the British Council, seeing Jack Yates vying with Matthew Smith in dashing density of pigment, with cliffs of paint making all contour superfluous; seeing Graham Sutherland or Mr Bacon cheek by jowl with the late Mr Wilson Steer [...] would undoubtedly receive an impression of inconsequence and chaos [...] But what of it! This confusion is a healthy sign [...] It shows that the national barriers have been broken down [...] we are beginning to have a genuine international, or cosmic, culture.¹⁷⁹

Bacon spent time in 1946 in Paris where he came into contact with Giacometti through his friendship with Isabella Rawsthorne who had been a model for the sculptor. When Erica Brausen moved on from the Redfern Gallery to set up her own independent art dealership, the Hanover Gallery, Bacon followed. There was a significant period of overlap when both Paolozzi and Bacon were showing at the Hanover Gallery. *Head I*, displayed at Hanover Gallery in the spring of 1948 has been described by David Sylvester as 'proof of Bacon's importance as a painter' (first writing about Bacon for a French periodical, *L'Age nouveau*, in 1948).¹⁸⁰ Bacon's first one man show held between 8th November and 10th December at Hanover Gallery which included a series of six paintings *Head I* to *Head VI*, with *Study from the Human Body* (1949) and *Study for Portrait* (1949) also received considerable critical acclaim.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Roger Manvell. 16 Feb. 1946. *New Statesman and Nation* quoted in James Hyman. 2001. *The Battle for Realism – Figurative Art in Britain during the Cold War 1945 – 1960* (New Haven: Paul Mellon Centre BA), p.56.

¹⁷⁹ Wyndham Lewis reprinted in Myfanwy Evans (ed.). Dec.1946. *The Pavilion*, A Contemporary Collection of British Art and Architecture, pp. 381-382.

¹⁸⁰ David Sylvester. 25 March 1950. 'London-Paris,' *Art News and Review*, Vol. 2, no 4, pp.1 – 2.

¹⁸¹ Evans (ed.) 1946, p.386.

Whitford has suggested that Bacon's 'determination to take risks and his use of photographs as source material' impacted on Paolozzi's work of the late 1940s until the mid 1950s.¹⁸² Bacon shared with Paolozzi a love of collecting visual ephemera, particularly photographic material from books, newspapers or magazines. Sam Hunter described the extensive collection of photographs in Bacon's studio as encompassing 'Goebbels wagging a finger on the public platform, the carnage of a highway accident, every sort of war atrocity, the bloody streets of Moscow during the October Revolution...'¹⁸³ Bacon's archive of images, just like those in Paolozzi's Krazy Kat Archive, betrays underlying themes which unify the content. Amidst the sheer quantity of items that Paolozzi bequeathed to the Victoria and Albert Museum, violence is a prevailing theme, with repetitions of many combat-associated items including military uniform (20), Hitler (7), people in power (41), war (156), men in combat (88) and robots with a terminator function (124).¹⁸⁴ Bacon also seems to have been particularly fascinated with preserving photography documenting current affairs descriptive of violent events and of political power. Martin Hammer and Chris Stevens make a compelling reading of Bacon suggesting Nazi propaganda provided a departure for many of his pictures from the early 1940s until the mid-1950s and beyond: Details within the picture plane previously overlooked, such as an interior furnished with classical paneling, the use of microphones, an often used deep pink colouration, and the 'penumbral mouth that appears from the blackness,' can be attributed to specific elements taken from propagandist photographs of the Fuhrer.¹⁸⁵

Hammer and Stevens convincingly argue Bacon's *Figure Getting out of a Car* (1945-46) to have been conceived from a photograph by Heinrich Hoffman of Hitler reaching out of his Mercedes to touch his devotees on arrival at the Nuremburg

¹⁸² Frank Whitford, 22 April, 2005. 'Obituary of Sir. Eduardo Paolozzi,' *The Guardian* (Guardian Newspapers Ltd).

¹⁸³ Sam Hunter describing Francis Bacon's studio at 7 Cromwell Place quoted in Martin Hammer and Chris Stephens. 2009. 'Seeing the Story of One's Time: Appropriations from Nazi Photography in the Work of Francis Bacon' (Routledge), p. 319.

¹⁸⁴ Krazy Kat Archive, Victoria and Albert Museum, bequeathed 1985.

¹⁸⁵ Hammer and Stephens, 2009, p. 326.

rallies.¹⁸⁶ He suggests *Man with Microphones* (1946) is likewise recouped from a photograph by Hoffman of Hitler, translating 'the attributes such as the podium, balconies, swags, microphones, floral bouquets, and curtained backdrop, all serving in propaganda photographs to confer a spurious aura of civilization and moral dignity onto the proceedings, even an air of ecclesiastical celebration' into paint on canvas (Figure 122).¹⁸⁷ Hammer and Stevens analyse the 'hieratic symmetry' of *Painting* (1946) suggesting a possible origin to be that of Albert Speer's monumental neoclassical interiors, in particular his Chancellery Building's Hall of Honour. Whilst its compositional configuration, attributable to Hoffman's photograph of Hitler posed in front of a symbolic Nazi eagle, it conveys clear evidence of Fascist associated details, including the fact that 'the resulting collisions of dissonant imagery might be taken to evoke the Fascist dialectic of gruesome violence and neo-Roman cultural rhetoric.'¹⁸⁸ If, as the evidence strongly suggests, Bacon was relying on this form of photography to inform his work, he was not alone. Undated propaganda photographs of Hitler depicted according to a standardized repertory of poses and attitudes are to be found in Paolozzi's Krazy Kat Archive. One photograph depicts Hitler as reflective when inspecting a vehicle at a motor car show on the 20th April 1889, another as open-mouthed and inspired when emphatically speaking from a podium, or grimacing and indomitable when delivering his message with clenching fists, as a fellow worker when depicted with Hadj Amin el Husseini at the Kasbah in Mecca, other times as the kindly father, or imperious master of the nation, as seen in Boris Stahn's photograph of the Fuhrer addressing the Reichstag on 18th March 1938 surrounded by Nazi swastikas, the golden eagle and other paraphernalia.¹⁸⁹

It is clear these defining works of Bacon's profoundly impressed Paolozzi:

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, p.327.

¹⁸⁷ Hammer and Stephens, 2009, p.329.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, pp.334-335.

¹⁸⁹ Compendium of material related to Hitler, Krazy Kat Archive (Victoria and Albert Museum). Reference: AAD/1985/3/3/247.

I think of an early exhibition of his in the Hanover Gallery of this kind of retreating naked man, and use of cotton wool and a safety pin...but even before that there had been an exhibition at the Lefevre and there were some Barbara Hepworth's and there were some bizarre early Bacon's. One seemed to be like a raglan tweed coat draped over a chair, but there was a certain kind of mystery about it that was in explainable, that was hypnotic, hypnotic.¹⁹⁰

The painting at Hanover Gallery to which Paolozzi refers would seem to be *Head II* or *Head V* which both possessed the trademark arrows and safety pins that Bacon employed at this time (Figure 123).¹⁹¹ Anne Baldassari notes Bacon's remark that he had admired a piece of cloth fastened by a safety pin in a group of Picasso drawings *An Anatomy: Three Women* (1933), published in *Minotaure* in 1933.¹⁹² Bacon's series of Heads have many unifying characteristics whilst remaining individually distinct. These eerie phantom-like creatures are barely human, possessing both animal and human features. Each shadowy effigy writhes around as if wounded; conjoined by a shared torment from an unseen torturer. Giles Deleuze in *Francis Bacon: The Logic of Sensation* perceives that Bacon is making a purposeful decision to distinguish his Heads from painted faces. Deleuze suggests Bacon dismantles the face by rubbing or brushing until it loses its form, allowing for a re-emergence of the head from beneath the face, like an unmasking of the true self beneath its veneer.¹⁹³ He stresses the solitariness and vulnerability of the heads, 'the forces of the cosmos confronting an intergalactic traveler immobile in his capsule.'¹⁹⁴ Wyndham Lewis's description of Bacon's Heads (now thought to be more specifically a description of *Head III*) apprehends something of the menace existing beneath the painted surface:

Bacon's picture, as usual, is in lamp-black monochrome, the zinc white of the monster's eyes glittering in the cold crumbling grey of the face. Bacon is a Grand Guignol artist: the mouths in his heads are unpleasant places; evil passions make a glittering white mess of the lips. There are, after all, more

¹⁹⁰ Paolozzi, Eduardo. 1995. Interview with Frank Whitford (British Library Audio Collection).

¹⁹¹ *Head IV*: According to Ronald Alley's 1964 Catalogue Raisonné, it was then owned by a private Swiss collection and last exhibited at Arthur Tooth and Sons in July 1958 (Alley 45). Since then, this image of a head and curtain — adorned with safety pins and bearing similarities to *Head II* — seems to have disappeared from view and from the orbit of discussion in relation to Bacon's heads.

¹⁹² Anne Baldassari. 2005. *Bacon Picasso: The Life of Images*, exh. Cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux), p.44.

¹⁹³ Gilles Deleuze, *Francis Bacon: the Logic of Sensation*, London: Continuum, (1981) 2003.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, p.24.

things in heaven and earth than shiny horses or juicy satins. There are the *fleurs du mal* for instance.¹⁹⁵

Bacon admitted to his fascination with the mouth, 'I like [...] the glitter that comes from the mouth [...] I've always hoped [...] to paint the mouth like Monet painted a sunset.'¹⁹⁶ The focus on the mouth, as Dawn Ades reminds us, recalls Georges Bataille's assertion in 1930, that 'human life is concentrated bestially in the mouth.'¹⁹⁷ A cite of importance for communication, pleasure, sexual gratification and for expressing pain, the rationale behind the artist's preoccupation with the mouth has been widely discussed. Martin Harrison suggests the possibility that the scream represents 'onanistic ecstasy,' the expression of pain being the inversion of this, or using knowledge of Bacon's masochistic tendencies, a conflation of physical pain and sexual pleasure.¹⁹⁸ The blackness closing in around the Heads supports the idea that the screams are silent, unheard, and thus a gesture of futility. Cyril Connolly, the editor of *Horizon*, with Bacon very much in mind, remarked in December 1949, 'it is closing-time in the gardens of the West and from now on an artist will be judged only by the resonance of his solitude or the quality of his despair.'¹⁹⁹ Bacon's familiarity with Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* is used by Dan Farson to explain the artist's existentialist interest with the mouth:²⁰⁰

It was as though an animated image of death carved out of old ivory had been shaking its hand with menace at a motionless crowd of men made of dark and glittering bronze. I saw him open his mouth wide — it gave him a weirdly voracious aspect, as though he wanted to swallow all the air, all the earth, all the men before him.²⁰¹

The angst captured within the hollow oval mouths and menacing white teeth witnessed in Paolozzi's *Psychological Atlas* find a close affinity with Bacon's use of

¹⁹⁵ Wyndham Lewis, 'The Listener,' 12 May 1949, p.811.

¹⁹⁶ Francis Bacon in David Sylvester. 1985. *Interviews with Francis Bacon 1962-1979* (London: Thames and Hudson), p.23.

¹⁹⁷ Dawn Ades and Andrew Forge ed. 1985. *Francis Bacon* (London: Tate Gallery in association with Thames & Hudson), p.14.

¹⁹⁸ Martin Harrison. 2008. *Francis Bacon Incunabula* (London: Thames & Hudson), p.46.

¹⁹⁹ Cyril Connolly. Jan.1949. *Horizon*, p.362.

²⁰⁰ Daniel Farson. 1993. *The Gilded Gutter Life of Francis Bacon* (London: Century Random House), p.56.

²⁰¹ Joseph Conrad. 2007. *Heart of Darkness* (Penguin Classics), p.111.

the subject.²⁰² If Bacon's creatures are trapped in a confined, windowless, non-specific space, Paolozzi's cut-and-pasted void is similarly terrifying and bleak. Translations of novels, plays and ideas by both Albert Camus and Jean-Paul Sartre began to appear in Britain shortly after the war.²⁰³ *The Outsider* by Camus, for example, was translated into English in 1946. Nihilistic Existentialist ideas were filtering into the consciousness of the British population after the war.²⁰⁴ Indeed, as Alan Young determines, 'the white faced, black garbed morose men and women of *La Rive Gauche* were taken up by the newspapers and gayed by cartoonists for many years.'²⁰⁵

More than capturing a general sensibility, Paolozzi's *Psychological Atlas* shares with Bacon's paintings of the mid- to late forties an engagement with actual events of the recent past and of the present. Moving freely between visual material from 'high' and 'low' origins, Bacon and Paolozzi indiscriminately conflate popular culture with state propaganda and high art Old Masters. Bacon's *Heads* have been attributed to a variety of sources. Roger Manvell's cinematic books such as *Film* (1944, and *The History of the British Film 1896-1906* (1948)) provided Bacon with a rich source of images.²⁰⁶ The gaping mouth of the female in the much-discussed Odessa steps sequence from Eisenstein's film *The Battleship Potemkin* (1925) has been cited as a catalyst for Bacon's Head series.²⁰⁷ Robert Melville, in *Horizon* magazine, discusses parallels with 'the wooden gestures and grimaces of Edna Purviance' (one of Chaplin's actors), and the great visual force of *Un Chien Andalou* (1929).²⁰⁸ Poussin's

²⁰² Herbert Read. 1948. *Ben Nicholson: Paintings Reliefs Drawings* (London: Lund Humphries). See also Read. 1952. *The Philosophy of Modern Art* and Robert Burstow 'The Geometry of Fear'. More recently, David Hulks has written on Read's likening of Heidegger's 'fear of nothingness' with Melanie Klein's fear of annihilation,' which was much discussed in British psychoanalytic circles in the 1950s, Klein's theory of object relations posited that the infant psyche develops through a series of splits, assigning good and bad traits to all objects. The first such object' the infant encounters, the mother's breast, is deemed bad because it may be withdrawn without notice: the infant later feels guilt for thus branding the breast and fears retaliation, or annihilation. See David Hulks. 2006. 'The Dark Chaos of Subjectivisms: Splitting and the Geometry of Fear' in *Sculpture and Psychoanalysis*, edit. by Brandon Taylor (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate Publishing), p.147

²⁰³ This reference refers to Samuel Beckett's existentialist play *Waiting for Godot*. The original French text was composed between 9 October 1948 and 29 January 1949.

²⁰⁴ Alan Young. 1981. *Dada and After – Extremist Modernism and English Literature*, Manchester University Press), pp. 200 - 201.

²⁰⁵ Ibid p.202 It was this gradual acceptance of an alternative way of being which prepared the way for the infiltration of post-Dada, which was to come though the art movements of the nineteen-fifties and nineteen sixties.

²⁰⁶ Roger Manvell. 1944. *Film* (Penguin), p.206.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Robert Melville. Jan. 1951 'The Iconoclasm of Francis Bacon,' *World Review*, pp.66.

Massacre of the Innocents (1630-1), which the artist had been captivated by at Chateau de Chantilly, is also considered a significant source. In a late interview with Paolozzi, the artist commends Bacon's ability to convey the unsaid:

I mean there are some paintings where there is actually the Swastika armband. There was the hint of the cruel SS man and torture and drugs and blood, beating. And he seems to have the capacity to embrace that. But a lot of English artists still, some of it...is still involved, and it's considered impossible I think to deal with. But in the modern art pantheon, politics is a very very difficult tight-rope.²⁰⁹

He admired Bacon for his willingness to engage with his immediate surroundings, the post War society of which he and Paolozzi were a part of, rather than – like the British artistic establishment – escaping into an ivory tower preserved for the elite. The painting to which Paolozzi is referring is most likely Bacon's 1965 *Crucifixion* triptych which is graphic in its depiction of gratuitous violence and corruption of power, and more direct in referencing World War II than Bacon's former workings of the same theme. Bacon admitted images of the crucifixion were 'a magnificent armature on which you can [work] about you own feelings and sensations [...] You are working on all sorts of very private feelings about behaviour and the way life is.'²¹⁰ Bludgeoned, butchered and psychologically assaulted Man is reduced to mortal rolls of flesh. Steeped in art historical resonance, from Rembrandt's *Flayed Ox* (1665), to Chaim Soutine's more visceral 1925 version, reveling in capturing the pulsating and formless organic nature of flesh, Bacon resurrects this powerful cultural symbol and makes it his own. Bacon told David Sylvester:

I've always been very moved by pictures about slaughterhouses and meat, and to me they belong very much to the whole thing of the Crucifixion. There've been extraordinary photographs which have been done of animals just being taken up before they were slaughtered; and the smell of death. We don't know, of course, but it appears by these photographs that they're so aware of what is going to happen to them, they do everything to attempt to escape. I think these pictures were very much based on that kind of thing,

²⁰⁹ Paolozzi 1993-6 British Library: C466/17/F4988-A, p.183.

²¹⁰ Francis Bacon in David Sylvester. 1985. *Interviews with Francis Bacon 1962-1979* (London: Thames and Hudson), p.23.

which to me is very, very near this whole thing of the Crucifixion. I know for religious people, for Christians, the Crucifixion has a totally different significance. But as a non-believer, it was just an act of man's behaviour to another.²¹¹

For Bacon, we are all just made of vulnerable, penetrable, beatable flesh, like the flesh of beasts, with nothing to protect us from ourselves. In this way, Bacon's work parallels Paolozzi's exploration of the male body as a site of weakness; defenselessly exposed to the brutal forces at play in the Modern world. Paolozzi has shifted from a Marinettian position embracing the machine as 'a figure of totality and vitality – indeed, as the modern paragon of these states,' as Hal Foster put it.²¹² Scrapbooks dating from the early 1950s collate a series of science fiction magazine covers depicting different fantasy mechanized monsters attacking the earth. One cut-and-pasted cover, bequeathed to Tate as a standalone work by the artist in 1971, entitled *Was This Metal Monster Master - or Slave?* (1952), depicting 'the iron men from Venus' being repelled by human filled fighter jets, visually projects the artist's quandary (Figure 12).²¹³ Echoing Marx, albeit distantly, Paolozzi knew the problems in the modern world lay with humans *not* machines.²¹⁴ Machines mirrored the depths and breadths of inhumanity which humans were capable of inflicting on one another. Paolozzi and Bacon, were contending themselves with those power dynamics existing within society.

Penetrating beneath the dermis of respectability, Paolozzi and Bacon reveal the bestial nature of Man: bullies and victims, heroes and anti-heroes, 'goodies' and 'baddies' all formulate parts of the human condition. Paolozzi's mechanized monsters and Bacon's corrupt popes confront us with unsavory truths about our degeneracy. Power hungry and morally questionable, we prefer to hide our fallibilities beneath contrived exteriors. There is nothing elegiac about Bacon's *Crucifixion*, described by Sylvester as 'apocalyptic;' all poetry has been shed away.

²¹¹ Sylvester 1985, p.25.

²¹² Foster 2004, p.221.

²¹³ Eduardo Paolozzi, *Was this Metal Monster Master - or Slave?* (1952) was presented to Tate in 1971 by the artist acc.ref: T01458-T01467.

²¹⁴ For further reading see Karl Marx in David McLellan ed. 2008. *Capital: An Abridged Edition* (Oxford Paperbacks).

Bacon's triptych confrontationally modernizes its subject with its inclusion of the swastika.²¹⁵ When questioned about his use of the swastika Bacon remarked 'you see, with those enormous crowds that have been so often filmed and photographed at the Nuremburg rallies, I had seen all of those people and they all had arm bands on with their swastikas on them and I wanted that in this image.'²¹⁶ The artist consciously inverts the purpose of propaganda photography he employs in *Crucifixion*. Indeed, Hammer and Stevens have suggested that Bacon's interest lies with uncovering the 'unconscious forces operating beneath the conscious façade projected by the Nazi state.'²¹⁷ Rather than hide the depravity covered up by officials during the war, Bacon renders on canvas that which had been censored.

Paolozzi picked up on Bacon's 'political metaphors' so he called them, and shared Bacon's desire to open up the truths of the recent past.²¹⁸ Articles documenting the Nuremburg Trials have been cropped out and preserved by Paolozzi. These articles name and shame Nazi defendants brought to trial on 16 October 1946, and conflate pictures of the tribunal with close-up documentary-style pictures of their limbless victims lying amassed in a ditch. A copy of *Under the Shadow of the Swastika: The Moral Dilemma of Resistance and Collaboration in Hitler's Europe* (1946), written by Hermann Wygoda, a Jew who survived the Holocaust by escaping to Italy where he became a division commander in the partisan army, has also been preserved by Paolozzi.²¹⁹ The book analyzes morally questionable methods of resistance, such as torture, the mutilation and killing of German prisoners of war, and guerrilla warfare. It is clear that, having witnessed events in the War beyond human control and understanding, Paolozzi and Bacon are searching for answers.

As time went on, as Hammer and Stevens have pointed out, 'Bacon sought to obscure the more direct references to Nazis,' preferring that 'we should not try to

²¹⁵ David Sylvester. 1998. *Francis Bacon: Images of the Human Body*, exhibition catalogue (London: The Hayward Gallery), p.11.

²¹⁶ Sylvester 1985, p.27.

²¹⁷ Hammer and Stephens 2009, p. 344.

²¹⁸ Francis Bacon in David Sylvester 1985, p.32.

²¹⁹ Hermann Wygoda. 1946. *Under the Shadow of the Swastika: The Moral Dilemma of Resistance and Collaboration in Hitler's Europe*, Krazy Kat Archive (Victoria and Albert Museum), reference: AAD/1985/3/6, Germany.

pin down intended meanings too narrowly,' and this 'was implicit in decisions he made about preserving or discarding pictures, framing titles, and generally refusing to let determinate meanings congeal around his paintings.'²²⁰ *The End of the Line* (1953) could be interpreted as a more general existential perspective on life ultimately originating with Nietzsche's *The Gay Science* (1882) (Figure 125).²²¹ These individuals, with the removal of their guarantor, are philosophising in the void; as Nietzsche said, 'thoughts are the shadows of our feelings – always darker, emptier, simpler.'²²² More connotatively, as Paolozzi apprehends, this is a meditation on 'a taboo subject,' using 'the most brilliant metaphors' and 'a lot of room to the imagination.' The artist is referring to the paintings inclusion of converging train tracks and a dimly-lit shed, intimating that Bacon's *The End of the Line* makes reference to the Holocaust experience at Auschwitz.²²³ Paolozzi's self-edit of his work implies the artist similarly wished to make decisions about how his work would be interpreted. If his early scrapbooks pre-1945 have been stripped of several images leaving spaces which suggest the artist was concerned at a later stage in his career that the images might negatively impact on his identity and career as an artist – if he had been considered Fascist – others have been (re)dated. Like Bacon, at the time of making provocative works commenting on the War when the event itself was still so raw, Paolozzi chose to move from the particular to the general. As he said in a late interview when talking about his wartime experience:

Yes, I mean there are some themes, as people are constantly trying to remind us, that actually you can't touch because they are so vast in their implication.²²⁴

²²⁰ Hammer and Stephens 2009, p. 340.

²²¹ David Mellor. 1993. 'Existentialism and Post-War British Art,' in Frances Morris ed. *Paris Post-War Art and Existentialism 1945-55* (London: Tate Gallery), p.53.

²²² Friedrich Nietzsche, 'The Gay Science,' reprinted in Peter Gay. 2000. *Basic Writings of Nietzsche* (Modern Library), p.121.

²²³ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1995. Interview with Frank Whitford (British Library Audio Collection).

²²⁴ Ibid.

2.11 Implications for the Atomic Age

I feel impelled to speak today in a language that in a sense is a new-one which I, who have spent so much of my life in the military profession, would have preferred never to use. That new language is the language of atomic warfare.

(Dwight D. Eisenhower, Memorandum regarding 'Project Candor and the Soviet H Bomb,' August 10th 1953, White House Office, National Security Council Staff Papers, PSB Central Files Series, Box 17, PSB 091.4 U.S.(2))

Whilst it is clear that Paolozzi shared a common discourse reflecting on recent World War II events with Bacon, he was an artist committed to being relevant to contemporary times. The political climate across East and West in the late 1940s was made anxious under the threat of nuclear holocaust. A work such as Paolozzi's *Tin Head – Mr Cruikshank* (1950) could be interpreted as a metaphor for the age (Figure 126). Mr. Cruikshank was the name given by American scientists to the wooden dummy used in x-radiography testing. The scientists designed and constructed the wooden head to have the same x-ray absorption as the human head. An article from the *National Geographic*, dated 15th July 1947, which details the importance of this new scientific procedure, appears in one of Paolozzi's early scrapbooks.²²⁵ When interviewed in 1993 Paolozzi confessed his interest in the invention:

Well, as way back as that; it was a wooden head made for scientists and it was hollow, and the scientists were pursuing radiation damage, because there was very little knowledge about that, and they were wanting to probe into space, and they had very little knowledge, ways of measuring and so on...²²⁶

Paolozzi's sculpture of Mr. Cruikshank is a cast of a human shoulder-length bust which has been made of recycled tin cans which have been cut up into thin strips and soldered together. By basing his tin head on a subject of scientific experiment developed at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Paolozzi reinvigorates the British figurative sculpture.

²²⁵ The article is included in a double-page spread in Paolozzi's 1945-1952 scrapbook, 'Arte Britannia,' Krazy Kat Archive (Victoria and Albert Museum), reference: AAD/1985/3/6/8, London.

²²⁶ Paolozzi 1995.

Mr Cruikshank undermines the tradition of portraiture sculpture in a number of ways. The bust was not on an individual sitter. *Mr Cruikshank* was, as Paolozzi pointed out, 'devised by scientists, without any notion of aesthetics.'²²⁷ Furthermore, its ready-made presence eschews Constantin Brancusi's spiritualist idealism. In the 1940s, as Stonard has shown, Paolozzi shows 'a full awareness' of the 'new independence of modernist sculpture.'²²⁸ Paolozzi's *Tin Head – Mr Cruikshank* moves away from abstraction distilled in the lyrical burnished bronze form such as *Sleeping Muse* (1910), in favour of salvaging and reinventing elements sourced from the everyday world. More akin to David Smith's *Saw Head* (1933), Paolozzi configures a new form of figurative sculpture from 'found' forms. Smith, an artist who learned his craft as much on the assembly line of an automobile factory as he did at art collage, nullifies profundity in favour of pragmatism (Figure 127). His work, as Alex Potts has argued, is 'something more provisional and awkward and evocative';²²⁹ he was, so Potts puts it, 'caught up in a fascination with visions of ultra modernity.'²³⁰ Paolozzi shares with Smith a distancing from Brancusi's vision of 'harmony residing in all things,' and getting at 'the essence of things,' with conveying the secular.²³¹ These post-war artists do not content themselves with capturing poetic aspects of modernity, they prefer instead to concentrate on empirical facts born out of scientific research. The subject, material and technique of *Tin Head – Mr Cruikshank* are all manifestations of the burgeoning technological age of the 1950s.

Far from having limited significance however, Paolozzi's sculpture *Tin Head – Mr Cruikshank* is deliberately depersonalised. This portrait bust, based on a man-made production-line dummy, is a substitute for the anonymous mass. Mr. Cruikshank counters the capitalist values of machine-driven production developed by Frederick Winslow Taylor. It seems significant that if the *first* major revolution in industry is considered to be the development of machines, the *second* is the redevelopment of

²²⁷ Paolozzi 1995.

²²⁸ Stonard, 2011, p.27.

²²⁹ Alex Potts.2000. *The Sculptural Imagination: Figurative Modernist, Minimalist* (Yale University Press), p.162.

²³⁰ Ibid, p.167.

²³¹ Ibid, p.134.

humans *as* machines, Taylorism's mechanization of the human body.²³² The Taylorist factory was designed to produce a standardized object, with standardized machinery and standardized methods. For Taylor, the success of the factory system was dependent on the capacity of the worker to acquiesce to the rhythms of the machine. The worker is regarded as an extension of a mechanical system. The underlying assumption of Taylorism is that man must configure himself to the machine in order to gain mastery over it.²³³ However, the fear articulated in *Tin Head – Mr Cruikshank* is that, rather than becoming masters of the machine, workers become machine-like. For Paolozzi, the mechanized world is one which challenged the very core essential qualities that made Man unique, which in fact made him human.²³⁴

Author and journalist George Orwell published 'You and the Atomic Bomb,' in the *Tribune* on 19th October 1945 which anticipates a new political era lived in the shadow of nuclear threat:

For forty or fifty years past, Mr. H.G. Wells and others have been warning us that man is in danger of destroying himself with his own weapons, leaving the ants or some other gregarious species to take over. Anyone who has seen the ruined cities of Germany will find this notion at least thinkable. Nevertheless, looking at the world as a whole, the drift for many decades has been not towards anarchy but towards the re-imposition of slavery...the kind of world-view, the kind of beliefs, and the social structure that would probably prevail in a state which was at once unconquerable and in a permanent state of 'cold war' with its neighbors.²³⁵

It is possible to view Paolozzi's *Tin Head – Mr Cruikshank* as a response to the uncertain mood of the times: the Berlin Blockade (1948–1949) had been immediately followed by the Korean War (1950–1953), and fears of nuclear intervention were

²³² Bernard Doray. 1988. *Taylorism to Fordism: A Rational Madness* (London: Free Association), p.9.

²³³ Ibid, pp. 9-11.

²³⁴ Andrew Ure. 1967. *Philosophy of Manufacturers* (Routledge), p.15.

²³⁵ This Orwell piece was originally published by the *Tribune*, 19 October 1945, within two months after atomic bombs were dropped over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan by the only country ever to have used them to kill people and destroy cities, viz., the U.S.A. Orwell had written enough about the same (re: A. Bomb) but this particular piece was exceptional for the insights it shared about the world dispensation that lay ahead in the age of atomic weaponry. In addition, it was clear that the groundwork for his novel, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* had been completed by the time of this writing.

rising.²³⁶ The bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the recent past had left indelible images of devastation in peoples' minds: The mushroom cloud created by the A-bomb and photographs of its injured civilian casualties deformed, charred and burned, haunted peoples' consciences. The caption running beneath the photograph of Mr. Cruikshank in the *National Geographic* article reads 'picked at random, has no special significance,' echoing the plight of the victims of the A-bomb.

2.12 The Human Head: a site for Change

The head becomes the artist's primary focus in the early 1950s. The human head, divorced from the body, as Stonard points out, suggests 'a psychology of form – a thoughtful mass constructed from that which it perceives.'²³⁷ *Man's Head* (1952-3), configured from a network of painterly striations, implies the brain's activity is akin to messages passing through an electric circuit. Paolozzi's painted grids render the picture plane flat, and simultaneously multi-dimensional, implying the connections are infinite (Figure 128). A number of works on paper produced by Paolozzi at this time reveal the artist exploring the theme of the flattened and de-flattered human head in the manner of Dubuffet.²³⁸ Using the same inelegant, thickly applied materials and deliberately anti-personal techniques as *Art Brut*, Paolozzi breaks the human face down into simplified component parts. It is as if the artist is deconstructing the head like it were a machine to find out how it functions. Indeed, it was because his scarred and scratched surfaces found affinity with *Art Informel* that Paolozzi's *Study for a Larger Version in Concrete* (1952) was included in Michael

²³⁶ Christine Lindey.1990. *Art in the Cold War – from Vladivostok to Kalamazoo, 1945-1962* (The Herbert Press), p. 8-9.

²³⁷ Stonard 2011, p.30.

²³⁸ U.W.E. Schneede. 1971. *Eduardo Paolozzi* (Thames & Hudson), p.17.

Tapie's 1952 publication *Un art autre*. Consciously trying to align himself with European and more international artistic trends, rather than a British milieu, Paolozzi encouraged his work to be contextualized within a global arena (Figure 76). In 1993, Paolozzi recalled his experience of living in Britain in the fifties:

...at that time, the Fifties...there was this, a curious kind of austerity at that time, not only among the artists, I mean we were all grey, we would all, although we think we had escaped from it, all of England was still trying to get over the war, there was still a fair amount of astringency, there was still a fair amount of rationing and things like that, even poverty among the intellectuals, at least my group.²³⁹

The world beyond fuggy bombed-out London seemed 'exotic' and more inspiring than that which Paolozzi inhabited.²⁴⁰

If *Man's Head* compares organic functions of the brain with man-made mechanisms inside the machine, *Automobile Head* (1954) directly transposes illustrations from automobile engines (probably derived from the cut-away diagrams found in popular mechanics magazines) and re-combines them to formulate a human head as lithography (Figure 129). As a non-specific portrait *Automobile Head* is, as Lawrence Alloway called it, the 'Everyman-viewer.'²⁴¹ It is as if, as Eric Stryker has suggested, Paolozzi's heads are, 'receivers of mass cultural images which are literally shaped by them.'²⁴² The human mind has evolved to mirror the machine, 'becoming engines of interacting mechanical parts'.²⁴³ The mechanised process of lithography –which has potentialities towards mass-production– further realises Paolozzi's vision of humankind's interdependence on the machine.²⁴⁴ Lithography was just one of the techniques Paolozzi was experimenting with whilst teaching in the Textiles Department of the Central School of Art and Design in London (from 1949 to 1955). It was during this period at the Central School that Paolozzi encountered the

²³⁹ Paolozzi 1993-6, p.174.

²⁴⁰ Ibid, p.173.

²⁴¹ Lawrence Alloway. 1963. *Metallization of a Dream* (Lion and Union Press), p.44.

²⁴² Eric M. Stryker. Autumn 2011. *Parallel Systems: Lawrence Alloway and Eduardo Paolozzi* (Tate Papers): <http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/parallel-systems-lawrence-alloway-and-eduardo-paolozzi>

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

Austrian émigré Francis Carr who taught him the commercial technique of screen-printing (Carr is considered to have been the first to use the printing technique in Britain).²⁴⁵ According to Margaret Timmers, Paolozzi was in the habit of making screen-prints from at least 1951.²⁴⁶ He freely interchanged between lithography, screen-printing and making collage; often as Timmers points out, 'cutting them up and re-cycling them as collage' or 'making collages and drawings, often mixing the two and using them as the basic material for his prints.'²⁴⁷

In late 1953, Paolozzi begins translating his explorations of the human head using cut and pasted images of machine parts into three dimensions. Paolozzi took a room at 1 East Heath Road, Hampstead, which was the home of Dorothy Mooreland, then director of the ICA and began casting works at a homemade foundry using the lost wax method. Paolozzi later described his method which he admits created 'a lot of failures, a lot of failures':

Well you make an oven, you make wax, and then you put investment round it as it's called...very hard work...and then you burn the wax out, and then you just melt the metal and pour it in. And then after that there's still a lot of work of getting rid of the investment and cutting the runners off. It's frightfully hard graft, and yet there are people who do it every day in the foundries.²⁴⁸

Paolozzi embarked on executing of a series of Heads from this inventive new means of constituting figurative sculpture from dissonant found material.

I began with clay rolled out on a table. Into the clay I pressed pieces of metal, toys, etc. I also sometimes scored the clay. From there I proceeded in one of two ways. Either I would pour wax directly onto the clay to get a sheet or I would pour plaster onto the clay. From the plaster I then had a positive and a negative form on which to pour wax. The wax sheets were pressed around forms, cut up and added to forms or tuned into shapes on their own. The waves were cast into bronze at Fiorini and Carney in London.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ Margaret Timmers. 2001. *Impressions of the 20th Century: Fine Art Prints from the V&A Collection* (Victoria and Albert Museum Press), p.13.

²⁴⁶ Ibid, p.14.

²⁴⁷ Ibid, p.14.

²⁴⁸ Paolozzi 1993-6, p.222.

²⁴⁹ Eduardo Paolozzi, 'The Independent Group and the Metamorphosis of Rubbish,' in Robin Spencer. 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi Writings and Interviews* (Oxford University Press), pp.88-89.

In this way, the ready-made materials of machine parts, fragments of engines, transistors, circuit boards, and grid trails of electric wires remain preserved in his sculptures creating a lunar surfaced conglomerate of contiguous shapes and surfaces. Paolozzi's idea of using 'found' detritus from engineers' skips for the creation of his sculptures, could well have been initiated through his friendship with the photographer Nigel Henderson.²⁵⁰ Picking up pieces of rubbish and wire from London's bombed East End, Henderson took these scraps of refuse back to his darkroom and laid them on light-sensitive paper to make what he called 'Hendograms' — a play on Man Ray's Rayograms.²⁵¹ Michael Harrison recognised that this method 'demonstrated that the real world could be directly transformed into art without first being filtered through a temperament or painterly style,' this directness removed art from a perceived elitist position and into the domain of the everyman.²⁵²

Paolozzi's sculptural Heads share with his works on paper the same theme: a tendency to move between the primitive (*Art Brut* or 'Art Informel') and the futuristic (mimicking the mechanisms of machines). Herbert Read suggests that they appeared, 'less worked by hand than weathered by nature.'²⁵³ Resembling fossils one might find on another planet, Paolozzi's Head sculptures are the relics of the future. His scrapbooks of the time contain images of fossilized creatures which clearly affected his sculptural production. Comparing their textural density and variety to 'encrusted skeletons or long-dried tire tracks,' Herbert Read seems to have sensed something of 'non-human life' in Paolozzi's conglomerates.²⁵⁴ As he noted in his essay for the 1952 Venice Biennale, 'Eduardo Paolozzi has moved from skeletal hulks to blind encrusted larvae, formless in mass, logs that seem to have

²⁵⁰ "Notes," Nigel Henderson Personal Papers 1945-55 (Tate Gallery Archive, London), reference: TGA 9211.

²⁵¹ Alex Kitnick. Spring 2011. 'The Brutalism of Life and Art,' *October Magazine* (MIT Press) no. 136, pp. 63–86.

²⁵² Michael Harrison. 1997. 'Bodyworks,' Kettle's Yard exh. Cat. 11 Jan. – 2 March, (University of Cambridge), p.5.

²⁵³ Herbert Read. 1952. 'New Aspects of British Sculpture,' *The XXVI Venice Biennale* (Venice: The British Council Fine Arts Committee, June-Oct.), u.p.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

drifted from the primordial Id.’²⁵⁵ Reyner Banham echoes Read’s perceptions in his review of the 1952 *Young Sculptors* exhibition at the Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA), noting Paolozzi’s ‘heavily wrought plaster objects, carbuncular, pocked with sinister pits..[are] suggestive of a subversive, autonomous, non-human life.’²⁵⁶ The consensus is that Paolozzi appeared to be asserting, as Alex Kitnick put it, ‘either a primeval beginning or an entropic dead end.’²⁵⁷ It is as if Paolozzi is preserving the end of one civilization or incubating the spawn of a new kind. This anticipated new species, neither fully human, nor fully machine, appears abandoned. It is as if, as Alex Kitnick argues, ‘these works are leftovers and remainders rather than creations; outside of civilization they are no longer vital or central to culture.’²⁵⁸

2.13 The Armoured Head

I do not believe that civilization will be wiped out in a war fought with the atomic bomb.
Perhaps two thirds of the people of the earth will be killed.

(Albert Einstein. June 23rd 1946. Quoted in Walter Isaacson. 2007. *Einstein: His Life and Universe*, Simon & Schuster, p.509)

In his introductory essay to the Hanover Gallery’s mixed sculpture exhibition of 1950, the critic David Sylvester also called attention to this sense of ‘non-human life’ in Paolozzi’s work, though what particularly interested him was Paolozzi’s insurgent inversion of traditional tenets of sculpture. In opposition to expectation, and to established practice, as Sylvester perceives in his encounter with Paolozzi’s works, ‘a picture or sculpture of this kind is devoid of a focal point, and the spectator reads it, not by confronting it as a scene detached from himself, but by entering it and moving about in it.’²⁵⁹ He understood Paolozzi’s sculpture was breaking new ground and positioning itself outside earlier traditions. Herbert Read also registered a shift in the language of sculpture post-war. In his text for the

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Reyner Banham. Oct. 1953. ‘Parallel of Life and Art,’ *Architectural Review* 114, p. 259.

²⁵⁷ Alex Kitnick. spring 2011. ‘The Brutalism of Life and Art,’ *October Magazine* (MIT Press) no. 136, pp. 63–86.

²⁵⁸ Kitnick 2011, p. 76.

²⁵⁹ David Sylvester. 1950. *Kenneth King, Eduardo Paolozzi, William Turnbull*, exh. cat. (London: Hanover Gallery), u.p.

British Pavilion at the 1952 Venice Biennale in which three of Paolozzi's sculptures were included, Read wrote, 'gone forever is the serenity, the monumental calm, that a Winckelmann had imposed on the formal imagination of Europe; gone, too, the plastic stress of Rodin.'²⁶⁰ Continuous form is replaced by the artist with the fragmentary. Paolozzi self-confessedly said, 'I've always thought that one of the great tools in modernism has been collage,' and it was his employment of the collage technique which transformed his sculpture:²⁶¹

So I've always thought collage could be introduced to sculpture, sculpture being in a sense very solid and unremitting if you like, but, be able to make changes. And also the nature of collage is often going, well described by people like Duchamp, is going beyond preconception, by chance you can make, sometimes it's brutal, but by chance you can have, as Arp would say, another reality. Where you would cut sentences out of books, and then collage them together at random, and the same might be true in sculpture by moving elements around that you get something that's beyond one's deliberate conception.²⁶²

His employment of collage – its disconnectedness, and its multi-signifying aspects – freed Paolozzi from expectations of traditional practice. It also created a distance between his sculpture's identity and the all pervasive presence of Henry Moore. Lawrence Alloway recalls how Paolozzi 'avoided like the plague' any suggestion of Moore being a formative influence.²⁶³ Paolozzi's animosity for Moore would seem to be confirmed by the artist's recollection in interview that 'there was an idea of having a big Henry Moore exhibition at the Tate, and a group of artists including, I think, Anthony Caro...we all signed a letter to protest, saying that the space could be better used.'²⁶⁴ In retrospect, though, Paolozzi admitted, 'from a very early age, from

²⁶⁰ Herbert Read. June-Oct. 1952. 'New Aspects of British Sculpture,' *The XXVI Venice Biennale* (Venice: The British Council Fine Arts Committee), u.p.

²⁶¹ Eduardo Paolozzi, 'Dialogues on Art,' Robin Spencer ed. 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi Writings and Interviews* (Oxford University Press), p.87.

²⁶² Eduardo Paolozzi. 1995. Interview with Frank Whitford (British Library Audio Collection).

²⁶³ Lawrence Alloway. 1966. 'The Development of British Pop,' in Lucy R. Lippard, *Pop Art* (New York: Thames and Hudson), p. 33.

²⁶⁴ Eduardo Paolozzi, 'Retrospective Statement,' in Robin Spencer ed. 2000. *Eduardo Paolozzi Writings and Interviews* (Oxford University Press), p.93.

his forties [Moore] cast his shadow over the whole...he was a big force that one at that time seemed to resist.'²⁶⁵

Despite his resistance, as John Paul Stonard has pointed out, there are a number of points of close comparison between Paolozzi and Moore. Stonard suggests the artists shared what he perceives to be a 'Brutalist tendency.'²⁶⁶ He compares the abrasive surfaces and distilled organic forms found in Moore's *Small Head* (1955) with Paolozzi's version of the same subject from 1952. Moore's *Wall Relief Marquette* from the same year is also considered by Stonard to have been a precursor to the method of imprinting objects on a flat surface developed by Paolozzi a year later. Furthermore, Moore's series of *Helmet Heads* seem to anticipate Paolozzi's *Head* series of the 1950s. *Helmet Head No.1* (1950), the first of a series of haunting sculptures made by Moore on the subject is a valiant reaction to World War II's inception (Figure 130). Its burnished exterior directly connotes armour, whilst its sharp forms imply aggressivity. There is something anachronistic about the helmet's design, whilst at the same time it appears technological and alien. The nodules on top of the Helmet (and the holes through it), the apertures of which can be read as eyes, also remind one of the similar features found on German helmets from the War, whilst the vents at the back of the helmet contribute toward the sculpture's more futuristic mechanical appearance.²⁶⁷ Paolozzi's *Shattered Head* (c.1956), whilst persisting with the theme of Man in a world at war, anticipates a more pessimistic outcome (Figure 131). In contradistinction to Moore's resilient surfaces and aerodynamic forms, Paolozzi's *Head* is in pieces. Formulated from a fragmented skin of brittle and broken parts, Paolozzi's *Head* has no protection. More a depiction of the walking wounded than a sculpture asserting Man's militaristic prowess. Paolozzi is making a statement about the fragility of human flesh. Bandaged, broken and scared, this is a victim of war rather than a fighting machine.

²⁶⁵ Paolozzi 1993-6, p.203.

²⁶⁶ John Paul Stonard 2011, p.37.

²⁶⁷ Julian Stallabrass. 1993. *Darkness in Shelter* (Courtauld Institute of Art, unpublished), p.22.

Made at a time in which, as Christine Lindey puts it, 'schooled by wartime propaganda into thinking in terms of allies and enemies, it was easy for people to substitute the RED Menace or the Capitalist Devil for the Nazi Demon,' roles of aggressor and defender were becoming interchangeable and indistinguishable.²⁶⁸ Soldiers and civilians alike were used to wearing protective helmets and masks and as such the armoured head was a loaded theme. Critics at the time, as Julian Stallabrass has pointed out, were particularly anxious to deny Moore's Helmets any specific reading; most emphasized that the artist had arrived at formal solutions that anticipated their creation before the outbreak of war.²⁶⁹ Indications from the drawings Moore made leading up to *Helmet Head No.1*'s construction suggest the contrary; Moore admitted, 'I surrounded the head fragments with frames or window openings to give them the suggestion of soldiers observing the enemy from concealed positions behind battlements.'²⁷⁰ Erich Neumann considers Moore's sculpture to be sinister and inhuman perceiving it to do what the skull did for our ancestors, a contemporary symbol of 'a purely technological death' closely connected to modern anxieties.²⁷¹ Neumann wrote of modern man: 'It is almost a wishful fantasy if he wants to be allowed to die peacefully in bed instead of being cut to pieces by shell splinters, buried under collapsing houses, roasted alive by atom bombs, or reduced to a mass of suppuration by radioactive fallout.'²⁷² In contradistinction, interpretations of Paolozzi's work unfailingly mention the war from outset. Emblematic of its time, *Shattered Head* resonates with Herbert Read's concept of a 'geometry of fear,' a pathos-filled formalism that the critic imagined to be entrenched in British post-war sculpture.²⁷³

²⁶⁸ Lindey 1990, p. 11.

²⁶⁹ Stallabrass 1993, p.24.

²⁷⁰ Moore interviewed by Marie Louise Pinckney for the Virginia Museum of Art, July 1965.

²⁷¹ Moore interviewed by Edward Roditi, *Observer*, 10 April 1960 in Philip James. 1966. *Henry Moore on sculpture* (London), p.58.

²⁷² Erich Neumann.1959. *The Archetypal work of Henry Moore*, repr. (Princeton, N.J.), pp. 152-4.

²⁷³ Read 1952, u.p.

Whilst Moore's Heads are protected and ready for conflict, Paolozzi's, stripped of their armour, are rendered defenseless.²⁷⁴ The representation of the head as either armoured, in the case of Moore, or unprotected, in the case of Paolozzi, is significant for understanding the artists' worldviews. For Moore, 'the helmet is a kind of protection thing.' Armour, said Moore, has a 'weird expression' and the Helmet Heads are meant to emulate this 'disturbing and strange expression.'²⁷⁵ His interest in armour was as a 'shell' for the protection of 'soft form.' The inner flesh of Paolozzi's Heads, on the other hand, is deliberately exposed.²⁷⁶ Their frail, beleaguered forms assert a self-sacrificial presence. These artifacts are evocative of the narcissistic damage incurred during the war and are portent warnings against the reactionary obsession with the body as armour. Whilst Moore's empty Helmet is just that, Paolozzi's vacant portrait is expressive of the void.²⁷⁷ There seems to be nothing jokey or whimsical about this head which is horrifying, because of the implications, and the memories of, not only smashed sculptures but smashed faces. Will Grohmann has suggested that the inner figure, which is shaped like a spear-head, encased inside Moore's helmet is 'something more repellent, technological and warlike' rather like a stereo-telescope. He considered it a 'mythological abstract conception' in which primeval and technological aspects are connected.²⁷⁸ Others have perceived it to be a prisoner ensconced. No such life exists inside Paolozzi's Head. In the habit of creating 'hollow gods,' Paolozzi's Head is a cipher, lacking in substance physically, mentally and spiritually.²⁷⁹

Echoing Wilhelm Worringer's earlier theoretical musings published in *Abstraction and Empathy: A Contribution to the Psychology of Style*, published in German in 1908 and translated into English in 1953 contemporaneously with Moore and Paolozzi's

²⁷⁴David Sylvester. 1949. *Henry Moore. Sculpture and drawings, 1923-1948* (City Art Gallery, Wakefield/Manchester City Art Gallery), p. 2. Sylvester also thought that Moore used the 'mechanistic sleekness' of lead to make figures that are like skeletons or scaffolding. 'The evolution of Moore's sculpture.' p. 164.

²⁷⁵Moore interviewed by Marie Louise Pinckney for the Virginia Museum of Art, July 1965.

²⁷⁶Preface by Herbert Read to exhibition catalogue, Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, *40, 000 Years of Modern Art* (1949-50). Susan Compton sees an association between *Helmet Head No. 2* and the vogue for Existentialism in England in the forties. For further reading see Herbert Read. 1988. *Henry Moore* (Royal Academy, London), p. 227.

²⁷⁷Stonard 2011, p.29.

²⁷⁸Will Grohmann. 1960. *The Art of Henry Moore* (London), p. 106.

²⁷⁹Eduardo Paolozzi in Spencer 2000, p.233.

sculptural works, Moore had shown humankind emerging from and returning to a natural world, and sought an equivalence in a truth to natural materials. Worringer argued that different civilisations tended to produce either naturalistic representation or geometric abstraction according to their psychological relationship with their environment. He evinces that naturalism came about when humans enjoyed 'a happy pantheistic relationship' with nature; a relationship characterised by Worringer as 'empathy,' and described this as typical of 'classical man.'²⁸⁰ In contrast, abstraction resulted from a sense of helplessness in the face of an ever-changing natural world and 'an immense spiritual dread of space.' The *kunstwollen*, what Worringer would characterise as a cathartic desire to make art in times of uncertainty, sees the artist withdraw, or, as Jane Eckett puts it, 'abstract himself from the carnage of the natural world.'²⁸¹ Artists after Moore, as Julian Stallabrass points out, had recognised not only the predominant artificiality of the modern world but also the artificiality of what they were making: that sculpture, whether abstract or of the human figure, was a construct and had to be confessed as such.²⁸² Fundamentally, as Eric Stryker has perceived, 'Paolozzi's processing of mass cultural fragments was biased towards figuration and based in the re-combinatory use of image fragments.'²⁸³ Anticipatory of a fully mechanised future, Paolozzi is an artist constructing new worlds from the ashes. If Moore's resilient sleekly-designed helmet evokes assurance of Man's ultimate reunification with nature, Paolozzi's fragmentary head suggests this relationship is broken.

If Moore was unable to abandon what Stonard perceives to be 'the imagined notion of a 'full' sculptural form' pertaining to a harmonious world view with humankind at its centre,²⁸⁴ the new generation of sculptors post Moore, as Robert Melville suggested, 'turned to modelling, manipulating and assembling techniques, to

²⁸⁰ Wilhelm Worringer trans. Michael Bullock.1997. *Abstraction and Empathy: A Contribution to the Psychology of Style*(Ivan R. Dee), p.137

²⁸¹ Jane Eckett.2010. *Geometry of Fear A New Dimension in the Work of Three Australian Sculptors: Julius Kane, Robert Klippel, and Lenton Parr, 1945-60* (University of Melbourne), pp.123-4.

²⁸² Julian Stallabrass. 1993. *Darkness in Shelter* (Courtauld Institute of Art), unpublished.

²⁸³ Eric M. Stryker. Autumn 2011. *Parallel Systems: Lawrence Alloway and Eduardo Paolozzi* (Tate Papers).

²⁸⁴ Peter Seltz and John Paul Stonard. 2011. *Eduardo Paolozzi: Archaeology of a Used Future, Sculpture 1946-1959* (Jonathan Clark Fine Art in association with the Paolozzi Foundation), p.26.

lighter and more sinewy materials,' implying dissonance and rupture.²⁸⁵ If Moore had the conviction to express the strength and dignity of civilization through well-balanced and harmoniously crafted forms, Paolozzi's new language of sculpture relied almost entirely on discontinuous and recycled form. Douglas Cooper and Clement Greenberg leveled criticism at Moore for his inability to create disharmony.²⁸⁶ Whilst Cooper perceived Moore's limitation to be that he was frightened of being vulgar, Greenberg argued that his sculpture was so tasteful that there was no difficulty or surprise about his art, and that it was the work of a 'sincere academic modern.'²⁸⁷ In contradistinction, Paolozzi's discordant, seemingly haphazard conflation of fractured forms, are assertive of disturbed intervention corresponding with Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytical interpretation of the wounded ego.

Freud's *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920), in part prompted by a similar desire to understand the shock of soldiers subjected to new military-industrial technology, understands trauma to be a wounding of the body ego. Following from *On Narcissism* (1914) in which Freud had conceived of the ego as emerging out of its imaged conception of its own body or, more particularly, out of sexual desire for this image. For Freud this 'narcissistic' stage, in which the body is the first love object of the emerging subject, precedes any attachment to the world, but it also succeeds a more primordial phase of autoerotic interest in different parts of the body (in contradistinction to the body as a whole).²⁸⁸ If this corporeal investment is somehow inadequate, or this body image is somehow violated, the subject will not bind as a whole image or an intact ego, and its relations to external objects will be

²⁸⁵ Robert Melville quoted in James Hyman. 2003. *Henry Moore and Geometry of Fear*, James Hyman Gallery, 19 Nov 2002 – 18 Jan 2003.

²⁸⁶ Douglas Cooper. Dec. 1944. 'Selected Notices', *Horizon*, vol. X, no. 60, p. 428; Clement Greenberg. 8 Feb. 1947. 'Art', *The Nation*, p. 104

²⁸⁷ Clement Greenberg. Nov. 1954. 'Abstract and Representational', *Arts Digest*, 1, p.7 Quoted in Irving Sandler. 1978. *The New York School: the painters and Sculptors of the Fifties* (New York), pp. 95-6.

²⁸⁸ Sigmund Freud, 'On Narcissism: An Introduction' in ed. Burness E. Moore and Bernard D. 1995. *Psychoanalysis: The Major Concepts* (New Haven Yale University Press), p.xxi.

disrupted. It is this kind of disturbance, this form of rupture, of the self dividing, which could be apprehended in Paolozzi's sculptural collages of damaged faces.²⁸⁹

2.14 The Mind in Pieces

Hal Foster has argued for an interpretation of the fragmentary nature of the collage medium to be evocative of internal and environmental disturbance developed in a period of dominant Fascism.²⁹⁰ It is my contention that Paolozzi's embarkation into creating an aesthetic compiled of fragments is assertive of more than opposition to the sculptural vocabulary of Henry Moore; it is an assault on the hieratic military-industrial aesthetics of Italian Fascism.²⁹¹ Paolozzi's sculptural collage technique deliberately dismembered the human head or the human body into distinct parts. Deconstructed like a machine into different functioning parts, each 'found' fragment contributed toward creating a whole, whilst remaining distinct with its own identity. The figure is never witnessed as a unified, fully functioning apparatus; like Munari, Duchamp and Picabia's machines, it is dysfunctional. Paolozzi was exposed to the work of Duchamp whilst still at art collage:

...but Win Henderson herself opened a few doors, for example Nigel Henderson also had this famous Duchamp green box, and I thought that was indescribable, yet intriguing...these fragments that made the large glass. But these kind of things were foreign to the average Slade student...they would have been admired even in a mild way, the world of Augustus John; they were at that time two kind of groups that the minority admired Picasso, and the majority admired Augustus John.²⁹²

Paolozzi and Henderson were clearly fascinated by *The Green Box*. Duchamp's work was intended to complement the visual experience of *The Bride Stripped Bare by her Bachelors, Even (The Large Glass)* (1915 to 1923). *The Green Box* does not explain the piece, but rather further complicates it:²⁹³ Using diagrams and physics equations Duchamp parodies mechanics handbooks and the basis of scientific and

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Foster April 1997, p.33.

²⁹¹ Theweleit 1989, p. 160.

²⁹² Paolozzi 1993-6, p.27.

²⁹³ Michael Sanouillet and Elmer Peterson and Da Capo ed. 1973. *The Writings of Marcel Duchamp* (Oxford University Press), p.44.

mathematical rationale, since his scrupulously worked through methods of construction are deliberately carried out in vain.²⁹⁴ Duchamp deliberately set out to undermine rational dependency, and similarly to Munari with his *Useless Machines* (mentioned earlier in chapter 1), presents a post-war surreptitious counter-argument to the technophile rhetoric of Futurism.²⁹⁵

The scatological joke, in keeping with Dadaist sensibility, was an essential ingredient in Paolozzi's dislocation of bodily parts. The suggestion that it may well have been an ethical response to the post-war situation is alluded to obliquely by Paolozzi:

With the bronze works of that period, I was trying to make a kind of anti-art object, a form of gambling; really trying to make something which looked horrible. It was a reflection on the sensibility of that time. The connection I'm trying to make is that...I was using parts of toys and a radio to make a recognizable symbol. . . .Everything is transformed, but one is still using bits and pieces.²⁹⁶

Paolozzi's fragmentation of the human head, might, as Ben Highmore suggests, be explained through Paolozzi's 'consuming interest' with 'the physiological and psychological limits of man.'²⁹⁷ Paolozzi discussed what he called his 'obsessive themes,' which he considered to be 'always using the figure and always using the head' in interview. He reflected on the 'certain kind of additions and alterations' he made to the human form, conceding that it was significant for the conceptualisation of each work was his 'psychological feelings about the world.'²⁹⁸ The artist's description of his creative process relates to the language of reconfiguration and dismembering in Jungian psychology.

According to Jung, dismemberment was a symbol of rebirth and psychological reorientation. The process of individuation is conceived by Jung as our experience

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Antonello 2005, p.13.

²⁹⁶ Eduardo Paolozzi 1966 interview with William Lipke reprinted in Spencer.2000, p. 148.

²⁹⁷ Ben Highmore. Spring 2011. 'Image-breaking, God-making': Paolozzi's Brutalism, *October Magazine* (MIT Press), pp. 87–104.

²⁹⁸ Paolozzi,1995.

of the defeat of one's ego, most graphically depicted as dismemberment. In this process we lose all and, once reduced to parts, we rediscover and recover a newly evolving skeletal structure. Our new psychic center integrates and organically transcends our old lines, frameworks, structures, bones. While resurrectional, such a shifting is depicted as destructive. Jungian notions of dismemberment would indicate that Paolozzi's aspects of defacement and deconstruction refuse either guarded optimism or nihilistic impulses.²⁹⁹ Paolozzi gives shape to an unruly and insistent will to survive in the face of planetary destruction. The artist's work provides a vision of adaptability to the onslaught of technological transformation.

2.15 The 'Pathos-Laden' Head

I've never been certain whether the moral of the Icarus story should only be, as is generally accepted, 'don't try to fly too high,' or whether it might also be thought of as 'forget the wax and feathers, and do a better job on the wings.

(Stanley Kubrick.1962.quoted in Michel Ciment.1999.*Kubrick: The Definitive Edition*, Part IV, Faber & Faber, p.311)

If exploring the macho-machine aesthetics of Futurism is one way Paolozzi's work refers to the aesthetics of Italian Fascism, recycling Greco-Roman imagery is another. In contradistinction to the viewer's expectations for a sculpture of a classical warrior hero, Paolozzi's *Icarus* (1957) has a corpse-like presence. His reinvention of the master-craftsman from Greco-Roman mythology who built the Labyrinth for King of Minos of Crete (Figure 137) is a diminutive wingless figure. Distancing himself from the Moderns who were intent, as Apollinaire put it, on 'rebuilding the universe' from scratch, as well as ironising the classical past, Paolozzi rekindles life into this long dead story.³⁰⁰ *Icarus* is not an inhabitant of the new world anticipated by the Futurists before the War (exemplarily illustrated in Chapter One by the limitless capabilities of the Icarus statue exhibited at the

²⁹⁹ C.G. Jung. 1965. *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, trans. and introduced by Aniela Jaffé (New York: Random House), p.44.

³⁰⁰ Guillaume Apollinaire trans.Peter F. Read. 2002. *The Cubist Painters* (University of California Press Berkeley), u.p.

Esposizione dell'aeronautica Italiana);³⁰¹ he is a conglomerate of resurrected 'found' detritus imagined from an apocalyptic future.

Icarus has been created by Paolozzi from picked up rubbish. Amongst the imprints of fragments are things we readily recognize: hardware, cogs, a wheel from a child's toy, pieces of bark and cybernetic boards. These objects were prepared in a bed of wet clay, and then pressed into the clay, leaving the negative impressions. The artist then peeled away the wax and used the positive impression of shapes to weld into figures before casting them in bronze. The things in these sculptures start to take on a different life.³⁰² Thus, the identity and meaning of ephemera is transformed by the artist through his self-confessed 'metamorphosis of rubbish.'³⁰³ The central importance of configuring works of art from identifiable objects 'found' in the everyday world, which already have identities and stories of their own, is conveyed by the artist:

Many people believe erroneously that these details, in my work, are a kind of superimposed decoration, like accessories or even gags that are not essential to the appearance or the meaning of the whole sculpture. But this whole must owe its fantastic, magical, or haunting appearance to the very variety and accumulation of its crowded details. These are essential to the whole, like the choice of tattooing on a man's body, clues to an understanding of his biography or of the compulsive nature of his urge to modify his own appearance and to exhibit in public his private dream-world.³⁰⁴

The collecting and compositing of all these materials was 'a lay-usage of aesthetically unprocessed material and an iconology' according to Lawrence Alloway writing about Paolozzi's work in 1956, who construed that its origins were 'in all visual symbols rather than in the narrow sub-division of fine art.'³⁰⁵ For Alloway the artist demonstrated that material categorized as distinct (high art and

³⁰¹ For a more in-depth account of the *Esposizione dell'aeronautica Italiana* see Chapter One, p.45.

³⁰² Toby Treves. 2008. *Eduardo Paolozzi* (Late at Tate talk).

³⁰³ Spencer 2000, p.55.

³⁰⁴ Paolozzi in a letter dated August 5, 1983, to Angelica Rudenstine of the Guggenheim Museum describing his practice in the 1950s in Spencer ed. 2000. P.90.

³⁰⁵ Lawrence Alloway. 1963. *Eduardo Paolozzi: The Metallisation of a Dream* (Lion and Union Press), p.vi.

mass culture, fantasy and science) 'are logically related.'³⁰⁶ The ancient and the modern, the scientific and the cosmetic are all witnessed as coming together in Paolozzi's sculpture by Ben Highmore 'in the endless itinerary of the 'as found.' It was part of the artist's rationale not simply to break down barriers between 'high' and 'low' but to find a string of communication running between all things.³⁰⁷ More importantly for the purposes of this research, the rich textural diversity created by the various ephemera demonstrates Paolozzi's determination to distance himself from Futurism's smoothly contoured and aerodynamic forms.

The poly-material surface textures of Paolozzi's sculptures resonate closely with those of his contemporary César Baldaccini. The French sculptor César, born of Italian parents, exhibited concurrently with Paolozzi at the Hanover Gallery in the 1950s. His *Portrait of Michel Tapié* (1956) distinguishes the features of this well known critic, collector and artist from a variety of everyday detritus (Figure 133). Barbarous and at the same time fragile, César's portrait shares much with Paolozzi's decayed figures and faces. Although its unstable asymmetric appearance reveals little about its sitter, it does inform the spectator of its innumerable constituent parts which have been sourced from obsolescent capitalist culture. The artist was explicitly 'interested in trash.'³⁰⁸ He sensed value in the immediate world and enjoyed constructing new visions by 'manipulating' this recycled waste.³⁰⁹ César, like Paolozzi, undermines sculptural tradition, which prized precious materials, by exposing his composites of low grade materials. Immediacy, or what Paolozzi expressed in an interview with Richard Hamilton as 'directness,' is preferred, here, to lofty ideals and harmony.³¹⁰ He also rubbed against more recent preoccupations with direct carving and 'truth to materials' promulgated by Moore and his kin.³¹¹

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Highmore Spring 2011, p.100.

³⁰⁸ César Baldaccini quoted in Germano Celant. 1995. *The Italian Metamorphosis 1943-1968* (Guggenheim Museum and Progetti Museali Editore, Rome) exh. Cat. 7 Oct. 1994 – 22 Jan.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Richard Hamilton quoted in Alistair Grieve. Apr. 1994. "This is Tomorrow: A Remarkable Exhibition born from Contention," *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 136, No. 1093, p. 228.

³¹¹ Ibid, p.229.

Timelessness is exchanged for a time-specific sculpture embedded in the historical predicament of its age.³¹²

2.16 Used Future

[...] in my opinion materials live lives of their own and when I say 'precious' I don't mean gold is more precious than cardboard...

(César Baldaccini.1983. quoted in Lea Vergine.2007.*When Trash Becomes Art: Trash Rubbish Mongo*, Skira, p.33)

The Futurist Eric Prampolini's instructions to create a complete multimedia art and abandon traditional means in favour of direct incursions of reality were invaluable to the new generation of post-war artists.³¹³ The *Nouveau Réalistes* used exterior objects to give an account of the reality of their time. César's *Nu Assis, Pompei* (1954), a compression of automobiles and discarded metal, like Paolozzi's *Icarus*, confers new identity on ready-made fragments (Figure 61). César replaces traditional methods of making sculpture with mass-produced construction methods. He willfully rejects the notion of the uniqueness of the art object, and his compressions challenge the value of the hand of the artist. *Nu Assis, Pompei* could be interpreted as a parody of the big and powerful cars of the 1950s which were a manifestation of America's new-found 'super-power' status and worldly confidence: 'an accurate image', according to one writer, 'of post-war value immortalised in chrome and steel.'³¹⁴ The real objects which have been incorporated directly into *Nu Assis, Pompei* are a critique of mass-produced commercial objects and the culture from which they are drawn. Style obsolescence, as Nigel Whiteley has argued, was integral to the

³¹² For a more full account of the movement read Pierre Restany. 2007.*Manifeste des Nouveaux Réalistes* (Editions Dilecta, Paris), p.26

³¹³ Germano Celant. 2007. *Mimmo Rotella* (Skira), pp.13-15.

³¹⁴ Nigel Whiteley. 1987. 'Toward a Throw-Away Culture- Consumerism, 'Style Obsolescence' and Cultural Theory in the 1950s and 1960s,' *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 2, The 60s, p.17.

capitalist economic system. During the 1950s the introduction of new motorcar models and body shapes had been hastened from three yearly cycles at the beginning of the decade to, in General Motor's case, an annual cycle in 1957 and 1958.³¹⁵

César overthrows the machine from its immortalized pedestal and creates a spectacle out of its crash. His disordered compression of car parts is rendered static; the aero-dynamic elegance of the contours of the motorcar are sabotaged, as is its propensity to propel forwards immobilized. Furthermore, its armoured skin has been ruptured, deliberately exposing its internal fragility. The sculpture's title, which is drawn from the Roman city which was destroyed by lava flow from Mount Vesuvius, suggests César is drawing parallels between the destructive end of the Roman Empire and an apocalyptic termination of capitalist industrialized society. The 'American Way' had already made its impact in Britain, so with this in mind, César's *Nu Assis, Pompei* contemplates, predicts even, capitalism's downfall.³¹⁶ More particularly, there is a possibility *Nu Assis, Pompei* is an ironic and parodic allusion to the rise and fall of the Second Holy Roman Empire, namely Italian Fascism, of the twentieth century. Post-war Marinetti's aspirational notion of the machine being a god-like savior for humankind has lost its validity and the Futurist/Fascist values of speed, destruction and uses of violence mobilizing a new era and rebirth of Italian national grandeur have been wrecked.

César's deliberate rejection of Futurism's streamlined forms, together with his parodic treatment of the Roman past is closely paralleled by Paolozzi with his series of resurrected Greco-Roman heroes. *Cyclops* (1957), named after the mythological Homeric figure, Polyphemus, relies on historical narrative to enshroud Paolozzi's futuristic vision into a mythic past. Homer's epic tale unravels the story of Odysseus and his men being taken prisoner and escaping from the clutches of the Cyclops.

³¹⁵ Ibid, p.15.

³¹⁶ The relationship between Nouveau Réalisme and Capitalist consumer culture is further discussed in Jill Carrick. 2010. *Nouveau Réalisme, 1960s France, and the Neo-avant-garde* (Ashgate).

Polyphimus rolled a rock over the entrance to his cave to trap the men inside when he found them scavenging his provisions. In order to break free, the 'quick witted' Odysseus blinds the Cyclops, and the giant can only blame it on 'nobody'. It is possible Paolozzi is reminding the spectator of this myth as a warning. Reflecting on his series of figurative works of the time, Paolozzi said:

My occupation can be described as the ERECTION OF HOLLOW GODS with the head like an eye, the centre part like a retina. This figure can three parts be described in the form of principle of Architectural Anatomy.³¹⁷

From Paolozzi's direct experience of war, as *Avanguardista* and as a soldier in the Pioneer Corps, the artist is aware of the dangers of men appearing to be superhuman. *Cyclops*, together with *Jason* (1956), *Greek Hero* (1957), *Japanese War God* (1958) and *Little King* (1958), stand war torn and decrepit roundly rejecting the rhetoric of the New Man (see Figures 132, 138 and 139).

Paolozzi's 'pathos-laden' head motif, as John Paul Stonard calls it, is developed into a series of monumental works on the same theme, are made by the artist simultaneously with his series of standing figures.³¹⁸ The first in the series is *Krokodeel* made in 1956, followed by *AG.5* and *Very Large Head* made in 1958 (Figure 134 and 135). Paolozzi's Heads correspond with the standing figures of the same period in terms of materiality and construction.³¹⁹ Evincing a vulnerable appearance despite their grand scale, these Heads are made from a brittle make-shift skin disguising an empty core. 'Iconographically', as Lawrence Alloway writes, these sculptures are 'a Communist union of the victory of the faceless masses combined with a William Morris panic-fear of the machine taking over.'³²⁰ Surely a parody of the industrial worker, mocked for his social conformity to what Wyndham Lewis would have referred to as 'the herd,' and its accompanying consumer culture,

³¹⁷ Spencer 2000, p.203.

³¹⁸ Stonard 2011, p.23

³¹⁹ Ibid, p.24.

³²⁰ Alloway 1963, p.iv.

Paolozzi renders the head with inflated exterior and hollow interior.³²¹ The individuality of the subject is reduced further by Paolozzi's generic or numerical identification for these works. The letters 'AG.5' are burned into the molten bronze skin of a sculpture of the same name; this form of identification is reminiscent the combination of digits identifying the job title and pay band of an industrial labourer. Within its Post-war context this form of numerical identification would also have recalled the hierarchical organization of command and rank of soldiers. The loyal soldier is parodied for his unthinking adherence to a regime, having been exposed to relentless propaganda campaigns.³²² Paolozzi, as will be explored in greater detail when looking at his St. Sebastian series of sculptures, self-identified with his works.³²³ In Paolozzi's own case, his early introduction to 'Fascistization' at the Colonia – methods used widely in schools and youth groups – left him self-confessedly 'indoctrinated.'³²⁴ The individual within Fascism was significant only in terms of his contribution to the over-arching *ideals* of a totalitarian concept. The Fascist rationale of affixing a numerical identity to an individual was a means of encoding racial difference. It was a form of organizational inclusivity or exclusivity.³²⁵ If considered within historical and autobiographical context, it is possible to conceive of Paolozzi's form of numerical identification as evoking the dehumanized method of branding prisoners in concentration and extermination camps.

2.17 A New Image of Man for a New Age

Having established this new figurative style of sculpture, based on collage and assemblage with what Stonard describes as having 'a strong emotive resonance,' Paolozzi developed a series of thirty-seven standing figures. In particular, *Robot* (1956) *Jason* (1956), *Greek Hero* (1957), *The Philosopher* (1957), *Cyclops* (1957), *St.*

³²¹ For a more full account of Lewis's position with respect to politics and society, read Tom Normand. 1993. *Wyndham Lewis the Artist: Holding the Mirror up to Politics* (Cambridge University Press).

³²² Dan Dubowitz and Patrick Duerden ed. 2000. *Fascismo Abbandonato: The Children's Colonie of Mussolini's Italy* (Dewi Lewis Publishing), p.9.

³²³ Eduardo Paolozzi quoted in Stonard 2011, p.22.

³²⁴ Paolozzi 1993-6, p.222.

³²⁵ Klaus Theweleit. 1989. *Male Fantasies*, Vol.II, University of Minnesota Press, p.47.

Sebastian (1958) and *Japanese War God* (1958), formed part of his one-man show at the Hanover Gallery between 11th November, 1958, and 9th January, 1959 (Figure 136, 132 and 138). These sculptures, most of which are suggestively titled, were made in close succession, and all share attributes of deformity, scarring and fragility. A typical reaction to these sculptures can be found in the response of Cecil J. Sibbett (Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the South African National Gallery), who complained that 'the cult of the ugly is rampant,' adding, 'everything must be distorted. Prettiness is the unforgiveable sin.'³²⁶

It is clear that Paolozzi's presentation of the figure runs in parallel with wider concerns. Peter Selz chose to include Paolozzi in the 1959 *New Images of Man* exhibition at the *Museum of Modern Art* in New York alongside an international range of post-war artists. The artists, all of whom were born after 1900, were from the United States, United Kingdom, France, Holland, Austria and Switzerland and included: Karel Appel, Francis Bacon, Richard Diebenkorn, Jean Dubuffet, Leon Golub, Willem de Kooning, Rico Lebrun, James McGarrell, Jan Muller, Nathan Oliveira and Jackson Pollock; and the sculptors Kenneth Armitage, Leonard Baskin, Reg Butler, Cosmo Campoli, César, Eduardo Paolozzi, Germaine Richier, Theodore Roszak, H. C. Westermann and Fritz Wotruba.³²⁷ Selz sensed a shift in the twentieth century configuration of the figure: 'Instead of a canon of ideal proportion,' he proposed that these artists forged a new vernacular of the human body.³²⁸ This 'new image' of Man was indicative of more than a change in appearance from antecedent projections. The twentieth century depiction of the human body, according to Selz, was bound up with 'the revelations and complexities of mid-twentieth century life.'³²⁹ If the art of the classical past sought to render anatomical form close to the human body, aspiring to capture the apex of what it could be, *Art Informel*, *Art Autre*, much like Tachism in Europe, Action Painting in New York or Abstract

³²⁶ Cecil J. Sibbett. 1949. 'Modern Art as I see it: Pathological or Prose?' *Art Bulletin*, Autumn, p.5.

³²⁷ Archives of the Museum of Modern Art, New York; collections at The Lewis B. and Dorothy Cullman Education and Research Building, reference: VII.SP-ICE-30-62.23-VII.SP-ICE-30-62.27

³²⁸ Paul Tillich and Peter Seltz. 1959. *New Images of Man* (Museum of Modern Art, distributed by Doubleday), p.13.

³²⁹ Ibid

Expressionism and gestural painting in America were united by their emphasis on originality, using the body as a site to advance individual concerns. If the former embodied humanitarianism principles redolent of naturalized order, the later evoked a decentralized positioning of Man in the universe.³³⁰

Paolozzi acclimatized to his new surroundings and articulated sculptural forms befitting of their time. The surface textures of his sculptures compare favourably with 'the heavy pigmentation in de Kooning's 'Women,' and 'the corroded surfaces of Richier's sculpture,' so Peter Selz called them.³³¹ Pitted surfaces are the antithesis of the smoothly contoured forms found in Greco-Roman sculpture and realist works of Fascist (and Soviet) art.³³² Propagated by The Soviet Bloc, Socialist Realism was reminiscent of Nazi art in that it relied on the exemplary role of the human figure.³³³ Realism, because of its association with totalitarian regimes, was replaced by alternative artistic styles in those countries outside the Iron Curtain. Alfred Barr in his *What is Modern Painting?* Published in English 1948 and in Portuguese and Spanish in 1953, echoes Cold War ideology by contrasting Western artistic freedom with Soviet (and often Nazi) coercion to produce art in a realist manner.³³⁴ The

³³⁰ Peter Selz in interview with Richard Whitaker. 11 July 2008. *Works and Conversations* (online magazine); Peter Selz : 'Those were the last shows I did. The first show I did was called 'New Images of Man.' There is a catalogue of that show. In a way, that was about as important a show as I have ever done. It was something I'd been thinking about for a long time and, finally, I could do it. This show opened in 1959, at the height of Abstract Expressionism. I was very much aware — much as I liked and still do, Abstract Expressionism — that that was not the only thing going on. I was very much interested in what has been called 'New Figuration,' So what I showed in this show were older and younger artists who had gone a step beyond abstraction. I would think the most important ones were, again Giacometti, Dubuffet, Francis Bacon, De Kooning and his women, Jackson Pollock and the black and white pictures he did in the early fifties; then I had number of other artists from the Britain like Eduardo Paolozzi; from France I had a wonderful woman sculptor Germaine Richier. I also had a number of younger Americans including Leon Golub who was very important to me, and I to him, in the early days in Chicago; and I had three Californians. I had Rico Lebrun; I had Richard Diebenkorn and an artist nobody had really ever heard of at the time, Nathan Oliveira. That put him on the map, too. So I had an interesting group of artists. Older and younger. Famous and not. European and American. Painters and sculptors. Very few people were looking at sculpture at that time. The whole reception was mixed, but largely negative. Who is this guy coming in here and showing us these artists from the American hinterland? And European artists! American Abstract Expressionism was riding high and people weren't interested in European art anymore. So that was my first show.'

³³¹ Peter Selz in 'Eduardo Paolozzi: A Personal Recollection,' reprinted in Peter Selz and John Paul Stonard ed., *Eduardo Paolozzi: Archaeology of a Used Future, Sculpture 1946-1959* (Jonathan Clark Fine Art in association with the Paolozzi Foundation), 2011, p.9.

³³² As Christine Lindey points out, Western art seemed to purposefully advocate freedom of expression to distinguish itself from the art of totalitarian regimes. At the height of the Cold War, the promotion of the artist Jackson Pollock could be viewed as a deliberate attempt by US authorities to endorse a 'free' art to distinguish the 'free' world from Socialist Realist painting propounded by the Soviet Union. The reality was that, during the McCarthy era, thousands of Americans were accused of being Communists or communist sympathizers and became the subject of aggressive investigations and questioning before government or private-industry panels, committees and agencies.

³³³ John Paul Stonard. May 2010. 'Art History Reviewed IX: Kenneth Clark's 'The Nude. A Study of Ideal Art', 1956,' *The Burlington Magazine*, p.318

³³⁴ Lindey 1990, p.15 Alfred Barr in his *What is Modern Painting?* ran to nine editions and one reprint until 1968.

appearance of Paolozzi's new aesthetic asserts his attempt to distinguish himself as an individual – as opposed to a collective (totalitarian) conception of social and artistic organization. Clement Greenberg, perhaps the most influential critic of the period, suggested, 'the best Art of our day tends, increasingly, to be abstract. And most attempts to reverse this tendency seem to result in second-hand, second-rate painting...in fact it seems as though, today, the image and object can be put back into art only by a pastiche or parody.'³³⁵

In accordance with Greenberg's perceptions about the painting and sculpture of the Cold War period Paolozzi's *Jason* (1956), which the artist considered to be one of his best works, exemplifies tendencies of pastiche and parody (Figure 139).³³⁶ Life sized and with a slight sense of contrapposto that in its fragmented state can only be read as pathos, Paolozzi's figure is a parodic presentation of the heroic male subject. The sculpture alludes to the Greek hero, whilst its semi-abstract form satirizes the classical tradition of *ideal* form from which the subject's theme has been taken. In contradistinction to Kenneth Clark's definition of 'heroic humanism' embodied in figurative works of classical antiquity, Paolozzi's rendition of the human body is disproportional and diminutive in muscular mass.³³⁷ *Jason* more closely exemplifies the 'huddled and defenceless' naked body Clark describes in his *The Nude- A Study of Ideal Art* (1956) to distinguish it from the 'balanced, prosperous and confident' nude.³³⁸ The artist inverts the heroic qualities of strength and valour, solidity and integrity, and replaces them with an ephemeral work that speaks of human frailty. 'Gone forever is the serenity, the monumental calm, that a Winckelmann had imposed on the formal imagination of Europe,' and 'gone, too, the plastic stress of Rodin,' so Herbert Read foresaw in his text for the British Pavilion at the 1952

³³⁵ Clement Greenberg. 1971. *Art and Culture: Critical Essays*, Beacon Press), p.31

³³⁶ Bought contemporaneously by Alfred Barr *Jason* is in the collection of the Museum of Modern Art, New York.

³³⁷ Kenneth Clark. 1956. *The Nude. A Study of Ideal Art* (London). The first chapter was published in the October 1954 issue of *Art News*. It was developed from Clark's Mellon lectures given at the National Gallery, Washington DC, in 1953, to which were appended three extra chapters and a series of endnotes. An eighth edition was published by Princeton University Press in 1990. Page references in this article refer to the Pelican Books edition first published in 1960, p.45.

³³⁸ Kenneth Clark. 1956. *The Nude. A Study of Ideal Art* (London), p.44.

Venice Biennale in which three of Paolozzi's sculptures were included.³³⁹ This sculpture is not a glorification of military heroism, there is as Peter Selz discerns, 'no sentimental revival and no cheap self-aggrandizement in these effigies of the disquiet man.'³⁴⁰

Paolozzi contributed the idea for the form of *Jason* in the ballet *Medea*, by Samuel Barber. In the briefing notes for the character, Barber makes clear that Jason is meant to 'exist on two time levels, the ancient and the modern.'³⁴¹ Paolozzi's teaching notes, which he made for his pupils at St. Martin's School of Art in the following year, make clear that *Jason* was at once a 'Godlike superhuman figure' of Greek tragedy and also 'modern man.'³⁴² Paolozzi uses an epic tale from Greek tragedy as a foil onto which a dismal projected future is imagined. Paolozzi is not intent on working his warrior hero into a ready-made tradition to exemplify his prowess, neither is his appropriation of the classical mimicked to endow his figurative sculpture with grandeur (though arguably it does add gravitas), Paolozzi is committed to parodying the classical. At variance with Sironi's modernization of Roman themes, rather than endorsing formal prerequisites of harmony and proportion aligned to humankind's natural equilibrium, Paolozzi fragments bodily wholeness and parodies bodily perfection. It is as much, perhaps, a critique of high-brow exclusivity as it is a parody of Fascist body politics. Apprehending this visionary quality in the artist's work, Robert Melville wrote that Paolozzi's sculptures possessed 'a hint of the kind of charred figure which many of us visualized when some of the victims of naphtha bombs were rumored to be still standing upright on the battlefields of Korea,'³⁴³ whilst, for Herbert Read, such agonized form captured immediate post-war anxiety. Ravaged by time and battle

³³⁹ Herbert Read. 1971. 'New Aspects of British Sculpture,' *The XXVI Venice Biennale* (Venice: The British Council Fine Arts Committee), June-Oct. 1952, u.p.

³⁴⁰ Selz 2011, p.9.

³⁴¹ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1957. 'Four Design Problems for Students of St Martin's School of Art' reprinted in Spencer 2000, p.78.

³⁴² Ibid, p.78.

³⁴³ Robert Melville spoke of the importance of Surrealism for the I.C.A.: 'Roland and I would be persistently Surrealist in our attitude, even if the word Surrealism wasn't mentioned'. Robert Melville, Roland Penrose and Dorothy Morland, taped conversation, [n.d.], collection of Dorothy Morland. This quotation was used in Anne Massey. 1957. 'The Independent Group: Towards a Redefinition,' *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 129, No. 1009, pp. 232-242.

Jason is an anti-hero memorializing a defiled technological optimism. 'Ruins with a trace of previous greatness,' as Schneede poignantly put it, the artist's existential vision is explained by a lack of faith in all systems of thought.³⁴⁴ In an age in which, as Jean Paul Sartre declared, 'Man is nothing else but that which he makes himself,' it is no wonder Paolozzi was questioning the basis on which concepts of humanity were conceived.³⁴⁵

2.18 St. Sebastian: Antihero of the Atomic Age

The Atomic bomb made the prospect of future war unendurable. It has led us up those last few steps to the mountain pass; and beyond there is a different country.

(J. Robert Oppenheimer. 5th August 1945. Quoted in Richard Rhodes. 2011. *The Twilight of the Bombs: Recent Challenges, New Dangers, and the Prospects for a World Without Nuclear Weapons*, Vintage Books, p.360)

In his early work Paolozzi could be seen to have moved between 'positions' in his attempt to realize a convincing depiction of modern man. In the late 1940s and early 50s Paolozzi continues to explore heroism in the Machine Age. Paolozzi's heroic alter ego manifested itself in multiple incarnations, though perhaps most significant was his reworking of the biblical protagonist Saint Sebastian. Martyred by arrows during the Roman Emperor Diocletian's persecution of Christians, the image of this saint's death has run deep in Western consciousness for centuries. The martyr has been painted by, among others: Botticelli, Perugino, Titian, Giovanni Bellini, Guido Reni (who painted the subject seven times), Mantegna (three times), Hans Memling, El Greco, Jusepe de Ribera, Honore Daumier, Georges de la Tour, Trophime Bigot (four times), John Singer Sargent and more recently Egon Schiele and Salvador Dali. Selecting a subject so steeped in cultural and religious significance makes Paolozzi's satirical handling of the theme that much more audacious. Between 1957 and 1959 Paolozzi made three versions of *St. Sebastian* (Figure 140, 141, and 142). Each version of the sculpture shares qualities of verticality appropriate for their subject's position when tied to a stake; *St. Sebastian II* (1957), for example, being seven feet tall. The

³⁴⁴ Schneede 1971, p.27.

³⁴⁵ Jean-Paul Sartre. 1966. *Being and Nothingness*, trans. Hazel E. Barnes (New York: Washington Square Books), p.256, for further reading: Williams and Robert Kirkpatrick ed. 1957. *Transcendence of the Ego: An Existentialist Theory of Consciousness* (Noonday), original French edition published in J. Vrin. 1965. *La Transcendance de l'ego: Esquisse d'une description phenomenologique*.

artist described his series of figures as, 'botanical...like a mixture of a strange Amazonian plant and some medical aberration.'³⁴⁶ His reference to the primitive suggests a conscious distancing of his re-working of the theme from Western Judeo-Christian renditions of the saint. His assembly of cumbersome, and distinct parts, are more evocative of a totemic structure:

The legs as decorated columns/or towers.
The torso like a tornado-struck town,
a hillside, or the slums of Calcutta.³⁴⁷

Paolozzi's description of *St. Sebastian II* (1957) confirms his move away from naturalism toward an architectural articulation of the human body (Figure 141). The comparisons that the artist makes with architectural details and foreign places suggest the artist is no longer engaging with a specific protagonist but with more generalized notions of the dehumanization and degradation of the human body. His fabrication of a future subspecies is embedded in anti-Enlightenment ideology. Lawrence Alloway writes, 'Paolozzi's figures, as metal men, have the resonance of folk-lore and myth...conferring life on inanimate material.'³⁴⁸ Fashioned from intuitive and gestural mark making, rather than carefully composed and articulated form, Paolozzi's figures are more akin to tribal artifacts than decorated sculpture of the official canon. He displaces humanism with mystic Witch Doctor magic. Indeed, Robert Melville wrote that Paolozzi's sculptures had been turned into 'active fetishes.'³⁴⁹

Paolozzi's conflation of primitive with futuristic form echoes Wyndham Lewis's hypothesis, articulated in his first book of art essays, 'The Physiognomy of Our Time', a section of *The Caliph's Design* (1919), where the author writes, 'every living form is a miraculous mechanism.'³⁵⁰ Lewis suggests that in a world which had

³⁴⁶ Paolozzi 1993-6, p.233.

³⁴⁷ Eduardo Paolozzi. 1958. 'Notes from Lecture', in Spencer 2000, p.85.

³⁴⁸ For Alloway, the robot 'symbolises the machine age in its vivid, superstitious, and current forms' see Lawrence Alloway. 1 Sept. 1956. 'The Robot and the Arts', *Art News and Review*, VIII, no.16, pp.1-6.

³⁴⁹ Robert Melville quoted in James Hyman. 2002. *Henry Moore and Geometry of Fear*, exh.cat. 19 Nov 2002 – 18 Jan 2003 (James Hyman Gallery Press), p.11.

³⁵⁰ Wyndham Lewis. 1919. *The Caliph's Design*, ed. by Paul Edwards. 1986. (Black Sparrow Press), p.14.

become 'inorganic,' the machine was an 'organism' of its own. He presents his model of art in terms of a necessary evolution: 'the creation of a work of art is an act of the same description as the evolution of wings on the sides of a fish feathering its fins; or the invention of a weapon within the body of a hymenopter to enable it to meet the terrible needs of life.'³⁵¹ For Lewis, then, the primordial was not only in our deepest past it was in our modernist future as well. There is, as Hal Foster has argued, 'a troping of Worringer on abstraction in which primitive dread before nature becomes empathy with a second nature, the machinic.'³⁵² Reyner Banham would prefer to interpret Paolozzi's reinvention of the primitive as originating from Dubuffet's *art brut*.³⁵³ Micheal Tapié applied the term to post-war anti-formal and anti-classical tendencies that could be observed in both America and Europe. Banham met Paolozzi when the latter gave his celebrated 'Bunk' epidiascope show at the first meeting of the newly-formed Independent Group in 1952.³⁵⁴ He protagonised Paolozzi as a proponent of *Art Autre* bringing together non hierarchical and non-relational anti-formalism, which, as Nigel Whiteley has pointed out, exuded 'a primordial universality; and a direct, anti-elegant, even ugly use of forms, materials and colours.'³⁵⁵ To a modern art public accustomed to European canons of formal order and balance, *art autre* presented an uncompromising new attitude to the creative process that eschewed high-minded notions of a classicist art characteristics and aesthetics. An alternative source might be discerned in the artist's use of coarse and rough surfaces which resonate with Mario Sironi's reclamation of archeological spoils.³⁵⁶ For Sironi the renewal of empire assumed both backward, and forward- looking connotations. He relied on *romanità* to evince a stable, timeless essence, immune to variations of any significance, and against this backdrop of continuity he projected elements of Fascism's technological age coming into being. *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista* relied

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² Foster 2004, p.56.

³⁵³ Nigel Whiteley. 1990. 'Banham and 'Otherness': Reyner Banham (1922-1988) and His Quest for an Architecture Autre,' *Architectural History*, Vol. 33, p.198.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Nigel Whiteley. 2002. *Reyner Banham: Historian of the Immediate Future* (MIT Press), p.122.

³⁵⁶ Emily Braun. 2000. *Mario Sironi and Italian Modernism: Art and Politics Under Fascism*, (Cambridge University Press), p.33.

on an assembly of Fascist insignia, monumental sculpture and innumerable fascia, enveloped in Greco-Roman imperial splendour, to confer its associated gravitas on Fascism's colonial ambitions.³⁵⁷

In an article of 1934 Sironi endorses Roman art for, 'the expression of Faith ... intending to give a clear, visible sensation and embodiment of this faith, of its force, its size and its power.'³⁵⁸ Indeed, a shared preoccupation with descent unites the artists, Paolozzi's series of St. Sebastian figures could be interpreted as a vision of inverted Greco-Roman values. The commanding dimensions of Paolozzi's rendition of the theme deliberately undermine sculptural grandeur. In contra-distinction from the lyrical and monumental forms of classicism, Paolozzi's figures are fragmentary and decrepit. Their height, far from exuding resilience, serves to heighten the spectator's perception of the sculptures' brittle materiality and semi-transparency. The lacerated surfaces of Paolozzi's sculptures, which incorporate scratches as well as impressions of gears, wheels and machines simultaneously evoke the historical subject of the martyr who was shot through with arrows, the shrapnel wounds of WWII war victims, and what Ben Highmore refers to as a 'damaged futurism,' inferring a cybernetic savaging of the body in an undisclosed future dimension.³⁵⁹ In the artist's own words, the creation of St. Sebastian was, an 'irony of man and hero – the hollow god.'³⁶⁰ Thus, it is possible to interpret the sculptures of St. Sebastian as moving from the general to the specific in meaning; presenting a continuum of human suffering. In this way Paolozzi could be seen to be mapping out the human race's misuse of power in an unceasing cyclical narrative, witnessed as singularly pathetic whilst also rendering the absurdity of humankind's self flagellation. The religious subject is revived by the artist not for moralistic purposes but for its ready-made connectivity in Western thought to suffering. The figure of St. Sebastian is interchangeable with the modern man, the soldier on the battlefield, or the

³⁵⁷ which is explored in greater detail in chapter one

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁹ Highmore 2011, p. 100.

³⁶⁰ Paolozzi 1993-6, p.234.

industrial labourer. This is the product of a godless age, an existential vision.³⁶¹ Here, mankind creates his own metaphysical stake to be tied to. Immobilized by fear and psychological angst he waits for his time to depart.

2.19 Antidote to the Futurist Ideal

We want to glorify war — the only cure for the world — militarism, patriotism, the destructive gesture of the anarchists, the beautiful ideas which kill, and contempt for woman.

(F. T. Marinetti. 1909. *The Futurist Manifesto*, reprinted in John Whittam. 1995. *Fascist Italy*, Manchester University Press, p.149)

Whilst Paolozzi's devotional effigies connect his practice with Futurism's machine idolatry, these once resplendent, now decaying gods memorialize the machine's transitory passing. Paolozzi's deconstructive methodology sought to confound classicism, and simultaneously overturn Futurism's technological rhetoric. His sculpture could be interpreted as a site of anti-Futurist logic. *Sebastian II* provides an interesting comparison with Boccioni's *Unique Forms of Continuity in Space* (1913), confirming as much about Paolozzi's continued reliance on Futurism, as it does about his distancing from it (Figure 143). The artists both present a reworking of the heroic ideal in the machine age: Surmounted on plinths, both projections of the male figure stand erect on two legs and meet the viewer's gaze head on. Their identities are concealed within helmet-like headpieces.³⁶² Below characterless faces, an armless torso unites head with the limbs on which they balance. Anatomical detail is only barely identifiable; in both sculptures, an illusion of cut-away views allows the gaze to penetrate into an amazing being that is part robot and part human. Boccioni fashions armoured limbs with aerodynamic bodywork, each enlarged muscle is articulated in hard-edged forms and within each of these muscles arteries like axels pulsate. He recommends the Futurist sculptural composition incorporate, 'the marvelous mathematical and geometric elements of modern objects.'³⁶³

³⁶¹ David Mellor. 1993. 'Existentialism and Post-War British Art,' in *Paris Post-War Art and Existentialism 1945-55*, ed. Frances Morris (London: Tate Gallery), p.53.

³⁶² William R. Valerio presents an interesting new perspective on the artist in his 1996 PhD thesis; *Boccioni's Fist: Italian Futurism and the Construction of Fascist Modernism* (Ann Arbor Michigan), p.33.

³⁶³ Umberto Boccioni. 1912. 'Technical Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture' reprinted in Herschel Browning Chipp, Peter Howard Selz ed. 1968. *Theories of modern art: a source book by artists and critics* (University of California Press, Berkeley), pp.293-302.

...following the laws of a new conception of harmony, they will be embedded in the muscular lines of a body. We will see, for example, the wheel of a motor projecting from the armpit of a machinist, or the line of a table cutting through the head of a man who is reading, his book in turn subdividing his stomach with the spread fan of its sharp-edged pages.³⁶⁴

Paolozzi goes further, creating an entirely new anatomy for his man of the future: he swaps the nervous system for cybernetics boards, he replaces the rib cage with an orchestrated network of engineer's ducts, the spinal cord for architect's beams and joists, and the stomach and bladder become plumbing apparatus; even the heart has been interchanged for what resembles the inner mechanisms of a wrist watch. These cutting-edge technological elements which make-up the figure's anatomy signify new or improved functions for the human body, and anticipate the coming-into-being of a new man-machine species configured from a fusion of technical machinery and eugenics. Boccioni's warrior is representative of an age where the automobile and the aeroplane are celebrated, and Paolozzi's describing an interesting turning point in the relationship between humankind and technology. The artists use the human figure as a site onto which they project expectations for a future human race. Separated by half a century, these configurations of the male body hold a mirror up to the schism in changing attitudes toward technology in the twentieth century.

Unique Forms is an aggressive and highly majestic figure. His swollen muscles like arrow heads cut-through space and his defiant stride impel him forward. This supreme Futurist prototype appears as a prophetic vision, clearly determined upon his mission - the founding of a New Roman Empire.³⁶⁵ Boccioni's warrior is massive without carrying any weight.³⁶⁶ As William R. Valerio has pointed out, the rhythms of its forms triumph over the limitations of the human stride to suggest unending movement into infinite space. Investing the figure with mechanised parts has allowed the figure to transcend the strictures of the body, making him faster and

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ E Bertarelli and L. Figuer. 1915. *Consosci te Stesso: Nozioni di Fisiologia ad uso della Gioventu e delle Persone Colte*, (Milan: Fratelli Treves), pp. ix – xv.

³⁶⁶ Enrico Crispolti. 1992. *Prampolini dal futurism all'informale* (Rome: Carte Segrete), p.21.

stronger.³⁶⁷ We know that the Futurists celebrated speed above all else, but for Marinetti speed meant more than movement. It also presented the possibility of time travel, of experiencing things in an indefinable continuum. In Marinetti's poem 'A mon Pegase,' published in 1908, the thrill of racing takes over:

I unleash your heart, putt-putting diabolically
And the world's white roads
At least
release your metallic reins ... You plunge forward drunkenly, into the
liberating infinity
your giant tyres, for the dance
Which you lead along³⁶⁸

Marinetti's 'plunge' forwards in his womb-substitute automobile simultaneously implies both rebirth and death. As Hal Foster has pointed out, in the first *Manifesto of Futurism*, Marinetti's car crash blurred birth and death, conjoining man and machine: 'Oh! Maternal ditch... gulped down your nourishing sludge; and I remembered the blessed black breast of my Sudanese nurse...'³⁶⁹ By comparison, Paolozzi's *St. Sebastian* presents a less determinate figure. Like Wyndham Lewis, Paolozzi rejects Bergsonian *durée* and embraces Wilhelm Worringer's stasis as expressed in *Abstraction and Empathy* (1908).³⁷⁰ In *Tarr* (1909-11), Lewis asserts that 'deadness is the first condition of art,' a state which the motionless forms of Paolozzi's paralyzed figure poignantly emblemize. In opposition to Boccioni's effective and fast creature built of steel, which will never experience fatigue, weakness, or nostalgia.³⁷¹

According to Boccioni, only Marinetti addressed the 'man-machine intercourse' as the basis of the modern hero's strength. *Unique Forms* transposes this image of hard metalized flesh into the first representation of Fascism's 'roving athletic subject.'³⁷²

³⁶⁷ William R. Valerio. 1996. *Boccioni's Fist: Italian Futurism and the Construction of Fascist Modernism*, University of Hong Kong, p.234.

³⁶⁸ F. T. Marinetti trans. Tim Benton 1990, and appears in a footnote of 'Dreams of Machines: Futurism and l'Esprit Nouveau,' *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 3, No. 1, p.27.

³⁶⁹ F. T. Marinetti. 1909. 'First Futurist Manifesto' in Reyner Banham. Aug. 1959. 'Futurist Manifesto', *Architectural Review*, pp. 77-80

³⁷⁰ Worringer 1997, p.113.

³⁷¹ Wyndham Lewis. (1918) 1989. *Tarr* (Santa Rosa, California, Black Sparrow Press), p.59.

³⁷² Jeffrey Shnapp. 1991. 'Forwarding Address,' *The Stanford Italian Review*, Vol.8, no. 1-2, p.59.

As Hal Foster noted, this ideological premise relies on 'an acceptance of a sort of death,' in order to initiate a new future for 'life in a technology (in or beyond mere death).'³⁷³ For Marinetti, the Futurist subject must evolve to integrate with technology, for only then might man 'be endowed with surprising organs: organs adapted to the needs of a world of ceaseless shocks.'³⁷⁴ It would be the technologically-enhanced human being who would have a 'protective shield' able to protect him from the world's blows.³⁷⁵ The technologically embellished augmentation of the body would allow for a demi-god-like existence for man. Free from the shackles of fear, his mortality guaranteed, he can go forth confidently. Indeed, as Marinetti suggests, the Futurists 'lust for danger,' and their 'nerves demand war,' suggest urgency for release.³⁷⁶ In 'Let's Murder the Moonshine' (1909), Marinetti writes of war, that 'it's our only hope, our reason for living, our only desire!' ³⁷⁷

2.20 The Armoured Body

Whilst an argument to determine Paolozzi's *St. Sebastian II* self-consciously undermines Futurist notions of body fascism, athleticism and speed has been cogently articulated; it is also possible to interpret Paolozzi's sculpture as purposefully defenseless too. For Marinetti, the protective 'shield' is essential for the protection of inner softness: the internal organic matter, the flesh and the ego.³⁷⁸ Freud's *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920) hypothesizes the 'protection against stimuli is an almost more important function for the living organism than reception of stimuli.'³⁷⁹ In this text, Freud formulates the precept that, 'if we are to take as truth that knows no exception that everything living dies for internal reasons – becomes inorganic once again – then we shall be compelled to say that 'the aim of all life is death,' and looking backwards, that 'inanimate things existed before living

³⁷³ Foster 2004, p.227.

³⁷⁴ F.T. Marinetti 1972, p.17.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ F.T. Marinetti, R. W. Flint (ed.). 1991. *Let's Murder the Moonshine: Selected Writings*, Sun & Moon Press, p.112

³⁷⁷ Ibid, p.57

³⁷⁸ Foster 2004, p.226.

³⁷⁹ Sigmund Freud in Burness E. Moore and Bernard D. Fine ed. 1995. *Psychoanalysis: The Major Concepts* (New Haven Yale University Press), p.30.

ones.”³⁸⁰ Paolozzi’s penetrable surfaces present an inversion of Futurist and Vorticist rhetoric: St. Sebastian’s open structure is suggestive of a body violated by repeated trauma.

Boccioni created *Unique Forms* as an antidote to Greco-Roman pastiches which he regarded as a ‘lamentable spectacle of barbarism and lumpishness,’ which plagued the streets of cities in Italy.³⁸¹ The sculptor’s goal was to inject ‘newness’ into monumental public art in Italy. If Paolozzi was reacting against codified notions of what constituted sculpture amongst the establishment, Boccioni set the precedent in 1910:

...we want ruthlessly to combat religious fanaticism, unconscious snobbism of the past, nourished by the dangerous existence of museums. We rebel against the supine admiration for old canvases, old statues, old objects and against the enthusiasm for all that is worm-eaten, filthy, corroded by time. We judge the habitual disdain for everything that is young, new and pulsating with life, unjust and criminal.³⁸²

No other art movement of the early twentieth century so clearly attacked art-for-art’s sake aestheticism, or so aggressively addressed mass audiences through a variety of popular cultural media. Also central to Futurism, was its desire to cast off the burden of the past, as Renato Poggioli has pointed out, so as to enable a process of continual reinvention.³⁸³

The mandate for Futurist artists, *Pittura Scultura Futurista: Dinamismo Plastico*, written by Boccioni in 1914, described his desire to reinvent the male body in sculpture of neoclassical academic representation that had been invented by Canova in the nineteenth century and continues virtually uninterrupted in the present. The disparaging critique of sculpture Boccioni articulated in his *Technical Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture* - ‘When on earth will sculptors understand that to strive to build and to create with Egyptian, Greek, or Michelangelesque elements is just as absurd

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ Umberto Boccioni. 11 April 1910. ‘Technical Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture,’ reprinted in Herschel Browning Chipp ed. 1968. *Theories of Modern Art* (University of California Press, Berkley/Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom), p.298.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-garde* (Harvard University Press), pp.130-148.

as trying to draw water from an empty well with a bottomless bucket?' - clearly laid out the artist's intention to make reactionary changes against tradition.³⁸⁴ Certainly, imitation, or what Boccioni referred to as 'the pretended nobility, entirely literary and traditional,' has been put to one side, and imaginative expression has extended the regulatory mapping of the nude as subject, but a complete severance from the classical *ideal* has not been attained.³⁸⁵ *Unique Forms* retains coherent form, relies on traditional materials and regardless of its forward-looking technological crutches, relies on the laws of classical proportion and harmony to convey its strongly articulated design of balance and counterbalance, weight and counterweight: Boccioni uses a well defined vertical axis from the groin to the head - and divides the body in two halves just as he did with *Antigraceful* (1914) - to depict two emotional states (Figure 144). One leg strides forwards whilst the other lunges back with equal force. We can even say that the principles of contrapposto govern *Unique Forms*, since any relaxed form is matched by an equivalent tension, and any form that seems to fall with gravity is answered by an equivalent form that supports the figure or pushes upward.³⁸⁶

Paolozzi's St. Sebastian, like his forebear Boccioni's sculpture, retains some traditional techniques. Whilst the diminutive frame of St. Sebastian dispenses with solid lyrical form, it continues to present a vertical sculpture with frontal aspect. Paolozzi's mode of presenting sculpture, when compared with contemporary Abstract Expressionist sculptor David Smith, appears anachronistic. For example, Smith's *The Hero* (1951-2) conceives of form in flat ciphers refusing monolithic form (Figure 145). It is as if, in the words of Alex Potts's, 'one retains a sense of breakdown and dispersal, as if one can never quite hold on to a firmly grounded apprehension of what the work is as a 3D shape.'³⁸⁷ In opposition to the traditional frontal viewing process, maintained by Paolozzi, Smith seeks to constantly rebut the eye, demanding the spectator continuously to reconfigure form. Potts attributes Smith's

³⁸⁴ Boccioni 1910, p.300.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ Valerio 1996, p.227.

³⁸⁷ Alex Potts.2000. *The Sculptural Imagination: Figurative Modernist, Minimalist* (Yale University Press), p.166.

change of approach to be indebted to photography; the artist would assemble different sculptural parts and photograph them from multiple perspectives. Dependence on the plinth is also diminished in Smith's sculpture.³⁸⁸ He unifies figure with base in a very provisional and precarious way, whilst Paolozzi continues to rely heavily on distributing the sculpture's weight on the traditional plinth. Therefore, it is possible to determine that Paolozzi's *St. Sebastian II*, much like Boccioni's *Unique Forms of Continuity in Space*, might break free from the shackles of expected subject content and traditional materials, but they do not radically deviate from traditional sculptural construction.

Furthermore, in spite of Boccioni's desire to rid modern sculpture of its 'age-old ideal of beauty,' Boccioni could still be accused of working in the heroic tradition.³⁸⁹ The sculptor exaggerates the strength of his warrior through continuous surface and aerodynamic form; the same cannot, however, be said of Paolozzi. In contradistinction to Boccioni, Paolozzi casts off idealism and exposes St. Sebastian's imperfect and vulnerable skeletal frame. Where Boccioni enlarges the size of his figure's muscles - mimicking the smooth contoured bodywork of an automobile - Paolozzi erodes false volume and betrays his sculpture's make-shift origins.³⁹⁰ If the power of Boccioni's figure is reinforced through his extension of the figure's shoulder-width with a cape of modulated and free-flowing forms, which radiate from either side of the base of the figure's neck, Paolozzi's hollow structure avoids separation of head from body. In addition, if *Unique Forms* gives an impression of solidity, strength, and harmony (thus conforming with virtues his manifesto purported to reject), Paolozzi appears more successful in his work's deliberate attempt at *undoing* the classical and reworking the *ideal* for a new age. Despite these differences, these two figures oscillating between man and machine provide a bridge between the classical nude of the past, and a glimpse at the cybernetic-enhanced possibilities of the human body still to come. There is a shared concern

³⁸⁸ Alex Potts. 2006. *David Smith* (Gagosian Gallery), p.3.

³⁸⁹ Boccioni 1910, p.298.

³⁹⁰ Paolozzi's creation of a parodic and volumatic sculptural form is reminiscent of Picasso's swelling of the female body in his mid to late career. For further reading see, Elizabeth Cowling. 2002. *Picasso: Style and Meaning* (Phaidon).

with revitalizing the male nude, together with a reliance on the machine to provide a solution for its reinvention. As Hal Foster suggests, the heroic body of modern art cannot be considered aside from the impact of technology, from machine metaphors to prosthetics.³⁹¹ What changes between Boccioni's prewar position to Paolozzi's postwar sentiment is that whereas *Unique Forms* is an attempt to describe a superman perfected by mechanised elements, *St. Sebastian* is an inversion of Marinetti's rhapsodic vision, rendering the machine impotent.

If Boccioni's hero of the new Italy is based on the mythical warriors and heroes of the Futurist manifestoes which were filled with metaphors of battles, acts of aggression and violence; Paolozzi's *St. Sebastian II* is a revelation of suffering, parodying Futurist and Fascist conceptualizations of a warrior. The Futurist hero of the new Italy, recouped by Mussolini, co-opted the Roman Catholic sense of martyrdom, the need for shedding blood and young lives in a gesture of self-sacrifice. This self sacrificial element, as Kate Flint has argued, sanctioned violence, and helped convince the audience of its necessity.³⁹² Indeed, Mussolini supervised the erection and inauguration of many large war memorials, constructed according to his principle that, 'a people which defies its fallen is a people which can never be beaten.'³⁹³ Mussolini's vision of a warrior hero could not be further removed from Paolozzi's incarnation of a post modern antihero. The figure's leaching wounds and defenseless silhouette nullify the precondition of superhuman qualities for the heroic.. Whilst Paolozzi continued to explore the notion of the heroic, he deliberately countered the iconography of the regime, preferring to articulate a new image of man suitable for a new age.³⁹⁴

Lawrence Alloway appreciated the artist's reworking of the theme. In the text which follows, excerpted from *The Metallisation of a Dream* (1963), Alloway describes a collage made by the artist in the mid 1950s:

³⁹¹ Hal Foster. April 1997. 'Prosthetic Gods', *Modernism/Modernity* - Volume 4, Number 2, p.33.

³⁹² Kate Flint. Oct. 1980. 'Art and the Fascist Regime,' *The Oxford Art Journal*, pp.49-54.

³⁹³ Benito Mussolini quoted in Grand 1989, p.5.

³⁹⁴ Flint 1980, p.50.

One of these collages, an assemblage of fairly intact images, as on a bulletin board, includes material that relates to Paolozzi's central theme of the standing male figure. It includes Michelangelo's David, an Old Testament hero...there is no sign of Goliath, who had simply been expunged by defeat. On the same sheet, a give-away Churchman's cigarette card of Jack Johnson, the coloured heavyweight, formally posed like a Hellenistic warrior, dark against the pale background of David's marble....to both images accrue some of those notions of an *ideal* which is at the core of any enduring iconographic type.³⁹⁵

This collaged work clearly conveys the artist's interest in exploring characters facing danger and adversity or triumphing from a position of weakness. Each of the selected protagonists displays courage and the will for self-sacrifice — *heroism* — intended for some greater good of all humanity. The classical pantheon is conflated with popular heroes, as if the artist is connecting shared characteristics which unite the ancient with the contemporary hero. Paolozzi might have rejected the existence and the desirability of a perfect race, but through his continued exploration of the role of the male protagonist Paolozzi continues to work within the heroic tradition.

Rather than presenting the spectator with figures from myth and legend as idealized and immortal, Paolozzi reveals their flaws. Indeed, it is through their demonstration of struggle Paolozzi perceives these warrior characters achieve heroic status. His invocation of struggle echoes Marinetti's first *Manifesto of Futurism* (1909):

Except in struggle, there is no more beauty. No work without an aggressive character can be a masterpiece. Poetry must be conceived as a violent attack on unknown forces, to reduce and prostrate them before man.³⁹⁶

The pathos of *St. Sebastian II* is perhaps over emphasized through the words formed by typographers' letters that are attached to the back of the figure: 'Please leave me alone.'³⁹⁷ The artist's inscription found on the rear of the sculpture suggests the personal nature of these sculptures for Paolozzi; their status as alter-egos. This

³⁹⁵ Alloway 1963, p.44.

³⁹⁶ F.T. Marinetti (1935) 1972, p.212.

³⁹⁷ Eduardo Paolozzi quoted in Stonard 2011, p.22.

description of the work, together with Paolozzi's admission that he created the sculpture as '...a sort of god I made out of my own necessity: a very beautiful young man being killed by arrows which has a great deal of symbolism in it,' recommend the work as semi-autobiographical. Stonard is surely right in his view that these works are the result of an obsession with the fate of the things in the world. Paolozzi's allusion to self-identification might help to explain the intensity of form created.³⁹⁸ More than imbrications of worldly clutter, Paolozzi's 1950s sculptures are conglomerates of memory and emotion, a cathartic expiation of the artist's experiences of the world.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁸ Ibid, p.27.

³⁹⁹ Paolozzi 1993-6, p.109.

Conclusion

To conclude, whether one looks at Eduardo Paolozzi from the perspective of Chapter One; as an artist mobilised by pre-War avant-garde rationales contextualised within Italian art and culture of the 1930s – 1950s, or from the perspective of Chapter Two; as an artist innovating a mechanised-man aesthetic dependent on the iconographies of Fascist and Futurist culture, it seems prudent to interpret Eduardo Paolozzi as an artist of international, rather than exclusively British, scope. Taking into account his Italian, as well as his British roots, reveals a new perspective through which to explain his formative artistic career. Without diminishing the significance of Henry Moore and his generation of ‘truth to materials’ sculptors, alternative explanations for Paolozzi’s aesthetic choices have been considered. Moore, who dominated the British art scene in the 1930s and 40s, certainly issued Paolozzi with a precedent for gigantism and with a commitment to being an artist of his time. More importantly, he created a coherent artistic vision against which Paolozzi could deviate. Nevertheless, Paolozzi’s interest in non-precious materials, his pursuit of the disharmonious, and his flagrant disrespect for the establishment were as much owing to informants external to British shores, as they were a rebellion narrowly confined to his locale. Moore and Herbert Read had been campaigning to increase Britain’s connectivity to vanguard trends – specifically, Constructivism and Surrealism – but the uptake had been slow. In contradistinction from his British counterparts, Paolozzi’s exposure to European Modernism started in childhood. Growing up as he did ‘between worlds,’ Paolozzi was as much a part of the utopian artistic *zeitgeist* of the 1930s, as he was a responding to Britain’s idiosyncratic artistic milieu.

I have argued that Paolozzi’s interpretation as Surrealist, to the exclusion of considering the impact of other European trends and Movements to which the artist was exposed in the 1930s, 40s and 50s, has over-simplified our understanding of his work. The impact of works by Alberto Giacometti and Max Ernst, those by Marcel

Duchamp and the Dadaists Kurt Schwitters, Hannah Höch and Raoul Hausmann were significant for the formulation of Paolozzi's artistic maturity, but a careful analysis of his early works strongly suggest the artist was not exclusively concerned with the intellectual 'Left.' Rather, he was exploring a more complex and less clearly defined set of artistic practices which could more generally be described as responding to the burgeoning inheritance of the early century avant-garde, as well as to the all-pervasive spirit of Fascism. Freeing Paolozzi from existing empirical codifications identifies the artist as moving between 'isms:' championing Picasso's techniques of Cubist collage, the prophetic New Vision of *L'Esprit Nouveau*, the promiscuity of Americana in popular art boasting the benefits of Capitalism, and the machine aesthetics and polymateriality of Futurism. Examples of Paolozzi's collages captured within his early and mid 1940s scrapbooks – not to mention selected standalone collages – import imagery which strongly identifies itself with the propaganda being circulated by the Italian Fascist regime, such as reproduction photographs of Hitler and Mussolini, factories, tanks, artillery, war ships and Spitfires. Thematically this material shares recognisable traits with State sanctioned 'high' and 'low' Italian culture.

Paolozzi produces an exhaustive body of work in the 1940s and 50s focused on the mechanised man, a phenomena originating from Futurism which was exploited by Mussolini to further his aim of creating a resilient *Uomo Novo* that was fit for the founding of a new Italy. Busts of Mussolini as indomitable war warrior, ultra-masculine effigies of muscular forms, and a healthy body regime permeated all aspects of day-to-day life under Fascism. Paolozzi's idiosyncratic conflation of imagery of the machine with that of Greco-Roman Classical artefacts also finds a precedent within Italian Fascist culture. Mussolini's drive for Empire expansion relied on inducing a fighting spirit, which explains the forward-looking hard-edged aesthetics promulgated by Fascist spectacle, such as *MOSTRA*. It also relied on inciting Nationalism to fever-pitch; hence, the resurrection of aesthetics linking the Italy of the present with its Imperial Roman past. The dualistic imperative of 1930s

and 40s Italian aesthetics necessarily brought together machine age imagery – often reliant on cutting-edge artistic techniques such as photo-collage – invoking the coming-into-being of a prosperous future, with artefacts of archaeological import to reconcile this paradox. Paolozzi's fascination with the aeroplane could also be attributed to his Italian origins. The brave new world of flight ignited creative inspiration throughout Europe, but it took on especial significance for Italians since their 'Empire' was established by the aviators of 1911 and 1912 who dropped Italian bombs on Libya. The aeroplane became a short-hand for victory, and for the autocratic power analogous with Italian Fascism. Furthermore, Paolozzi's technological *Nike* and machine-hybrid Trojan horse replicate the idiomatic language of politicised Italian culture, correlating closely with 1930s works by Italian artists Mario Sironi, Lucio Fontana, Giorgio de Chirico and Giuseppe Terragni amongst notable others.

If Paolozzi's early to mid 1940s works purport to show the artist working in a manner sympathetic with Futurist and Fascist aesthetics, the artist's dialogue with the Italian artistic scene continued post-War, mapping his gradual distancing from these indoctrinating ideals. Paolozzi's *BUNK* series could be interpreted as a critique, not so much of American Capitalist culture, but as an investigation into the language of propaganda. Paolozzi projected a large number of collages which contained material on science fiction, aviation, technology, comic book characters, advertising for food, domestic appliances, cars, films, pin-up pictures, news photographs, and medical diagrams through an epidiascope to an uncomprehending audience at the ICA in 1952. His collages of New York skyscrapers, factory production units and full-bosomed girls are pregnant with tantalising land-of-plenty visions closely aligned with that propagated, but never realised, by Italian Fascism. The artist's *Time* series is particularly penetrating in its dissection of complex political and current affairs stories. It draws parallels between Cold War tensions and the historical events of World War II. The multi-layered discourses insist on the breaking down of barriers between art and life. Paolozzi's

motivation to reveal the seamier underbelly *beneath* the artifice of glamour, affluence, and harmony connects the artist's collage techniques with Mimmo Rotella's *décollage*, and more generally sees his practice as consistent with Nouveau Réaliste aspirations to find 'new ways of perceiving the real.' Certainly his 'metamorphosis of rubbish' parallels advances in assemblage sculpture by César Baldaccini and Ettore Colla. However, at the same time as Paolozzi experiments using direct incursions from reality, he also creates abstract compositions which oscillate between exemplary reproducible designs – for use in Industry, such as wall-hangings, fabric designs and friezes – and those apprehending an alternative cosmological dimension. The artist's tendency to move between realism and abstraction mirrors the practices of post-War Italian artists emerging out of totalitarianism, and rediscovering Western European notions of democracy.

Paolozzi shared a dialogue most closely with the *Movimento Arte Concreta* (MAC), in particular the former Futurist artist Bruno Munari who innovated a post-War aesthetic focused on polymateriality which attempted to bring together art and design. Munari ran into difficulties with art dealers because his artworks, such as his series of *Useless Machines* (1935–1945), could in no way be described as examples of traditional painting or sculpture. Paolozzi's insistence on textural diversity also relates to the visceral *sacchi* of Alberto Burri, whose use of US imported burlap comments on Italy's post-War austerity. The artist's preference for tearing, building and eroding surfaces resonate closely with the tendencies of *Art Informel*. Paolozzi's reliefs and sculpture of the late 1940s and early 50s, exemplified by those exhibited in *Parallel of Art and Life* (1953), embody the sensibility of *Art Informel*. The markings, textures, and grid-like patterns map aerial views, extreme close-ups of cellular structures and other earthly phenomena. Paolozzi's surging and pitted sculptural forms are matched in intensity only by Lucio Fontana's ceramics of the late 1940s. It was through Fontana's experimental use of ceramics that he developed his 'Spatial' ideas. Paolozzi's surfaces animated with holes, exemplified by *Unknown Political Prisoner* (1952), replicate those created by Fontana. Both artists were responding to

new ways of seeing created by advances in science and technology; simultaneously referring to stratospheric, cosmological concerns, and microcosmic earthly ones. The purest expression of the hole, if it is to be interpreted in accordance with Fontana's use of the motif, celebrates Einstein's advances in science in his *Theory of Relativity* by attempting to simulate the experience of creating the fourth dimension.

Underpinning Paolozzi's 1940s and 50s work is a fascination with science and technology. In his earliest works, Paolozzi is beguiled by the plethora of possibilities offered by innovatory manmade inventions. Paolozzi's enthusiasm for the potentialities of the machine mirrors that of early twentieth century artists: the Purists in France, the Precisionists in the United States, the Neue Sachlichkeit in Germany, Constructivism in Russia and the Vorticists in England, and finding ultimate expression with the Italian Futurists. He explores the machine both in terms of its impact as a force for change in society – through inventions of the automobile, the aeroplane and the locomotive, mass-production and scientific discoveries, – its implications for Man's psyche, and for altering his physical state. Paolozzi also uses the machine as a symbol of revolution, to push barriers of expectation of what constitutes art, and to oppose entrenched tradition. The artist's naive interest in the visionary potentialities offered by the machine converges with utopian visions of a better-life-to-come promulgated by Italian Fascist propaganda in the lead up to World War II. The idealised notion of a fully mechanised world did not, however, realise itself: post-War economies in Britain and in Italy went into depression, and the dream of mechanomorphism never actualised. In 1946 a new reign of repression began in the Soviet Union, in which virtually all contact with the West was closed off, and the Cold War began. After the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, fears of nuclear holocaust became a real concern. Paolozzi's fascination with the machine persists, but his concerns for Man's misguided exploitation of advances in science and technology become existential. Whist his *Psychological Atlas* (c.1947-9) parallels the nihilistic visions predicted by Francis Bacon, his decoration

of *Patio and Pavilion* in the group exhibition *This is Tomorrow* (1956) allude to the fall-out of a post-apocalyptic future.

Paolozzi's fascination with Man's relationship with the machine parallels the story of his relationship with Fascism which dominated Europe in the 1930s and 40s. It could be suggested that the machine is a metaphor for Italian Fascism, embodying the apex of its manifold qualities: anarchism, supremacy, masculinity, hardness, aggression. Indeed, Paolozzi's early to mid 1940s collages capture the Fascist spirit through imagery of the *ideal* male nude. The artist imbues the heroic body with Vitruvian proportion and machine-honed precision. The Fascist role model, modified from the Futurist, was a Nietzschean super-being with ultimate power, mental dexterity, superior physical strength, and warrior prestige. The importance of the *ideal* body for Fascism was not however its ability to embody perfection, but racial purity. Post-War, when the fiction of the New Man unravelled, and the stark realities of the New World demythologised, utopian dreams faded. Paolozzi embarked on formulating a new image of Man befitting the dystopian age. Whilst the disembodied head of *Mr Cruikshank* meditates on the impact of radiation, other disfigured and shrunken figures cast in bronze in the 1950s posit a satire of the heroic ideal. Paolozzi deliberately dismembers the human head and the human body to betray the physiological and psychological limitations of Man. The imperfect and vulnerable skeletal frame of his rendition of the Martyr St. Sebastian asserts the ultimate antidote to Fascist rhetoric. The artist's unrefined and pitted surfaces flagrantly dismiss the perfectionism of polished Carrara marble, and Futurism's machine-honed surfaces. These ravaged remains, whilst invoking references to the Neolithic past also project an image of a post-apocalyptic future. Other free-form structures, such as *The Cadge* (1951), the white lattice employed in *Parallel of Art and Life*, and the pavilion in *This is Tomorrow* depoliticise loaded iconographies embedded in Fascist discourse. Paolozzi's brutalist aesthetic was more than a rebellion through 'ugliness' - it was a way of reformulating a new, non-Fascist modernism.

From a review of my findings, we can deduce that Paolozzi's artistic exploits of the 1940s and 50s, although incomprehensible to their contemporaneous British audience, are readily explicable when situated within wider European artistic practices, and when considered in relation to the historically specific epoch. Paolozzi was responding to a unique and potent set of artistic references encoded in Italian Fascism, together with wider avant-garde Movements of the 1930s. Whilst his exposure to 'low' propaganda informed the creation of his early collages, his proto-Pop signified the artist's post-War maturity through its satire of his adolescent convictions. Similarly, his youthful fascination with monumental classicism and machine aesthetics, stimulated by State sanctioned Italian Fascist spectacle, also metamorphosed following the demise of idealism. Mirroring post-War Europe's *Art Informel* and more specifically Italian neo-realist and abstract idioms, Paolozzi formulated his own repost to Fascism. His selective and highly sensitive approach to materials emote purpose: 1930s machine-honed surfaces are exchanged post-War for fragmented and recycled detritus from mass-consumer culture asserting a counter-argument to the technophile rhetoric of Fascism. His prolific creativity, both in girth and range during this period, is far from being formless or mere whimsy. Each artwork – be it collage, wall-hanging, textile design, sculpture or relief, – although varying in function, materiality and level of transparency, are united by an over-arching rationale. Paolozzi's singular metaphysic reformulates a new, non-Fascist modernism signifying a transition from the 'old' pre-War world to the post-War moment.

A self-made myth maker, Paolozzi was a character larger than life both in person and in vision. He carved out a singular path as a man and as an artist, mobilized by specific personal circumstances and the seismic historical shifts of the era. The works of his early career poignantly map the second half of what Eric Hobsbawm called the 'Age of Extremes.' It was from his exposure to competing and contesting ideologies that Paolozzi formulated his worldview. Mindful of the atrocities of World War II, he created artworks which envisaged a future based on the

precedents of the past. The brave-new-world tropes of the 1930s, such as the high zest for aviation and for the machine man, are reclaimed by Paolozzi and developed into his signature themes post-War. These cornerstone themes formed the foundation not simply for Paolozzi's works of the 1950s, but for the identity of some of his canonical works of the 60s and beyond. Satirising idealism through his clever editing of recycled popular culture and fragmenting closed and classical sculptural form, Paolozzi incarnated the post-Modern condition. Ceramics, sculpture, textiles, slide projections, animated films, collage, brainstorming, art teaching, Paolozzi did it all with an intellectual curiosity, a sense of absurdity, appetite and play which makes him, to this day, a peculiarly un-British figure.

For the purposes of length, and to ensure a thorough focus this study, has concentrated on Paolozzi's works of the 1940s and 50s. The artist's early career period c.1945 – 1955 was, as has proven evident, an ambitious and fertile one for the artist. It asserts Paolozzi's transition from a young man searching out his artistic identity, often moving between styles and Movements, to successfully establishing his own idiosyncratic artistic voice. The scope of this study includes the artist's childhood exposure to international trends in the late 1920s and 30s, locating the origination of many of the artist's key themes in Modernism proper, and paralleling Paolozzi's artistic development with the story of the rise and fall of Italian Fascism. An examination of Paolozzi's post-War work, ultimately finding maturity in his series of figure sculptures of the 1950s, is accorded its rightful place alongside other reactionary European – or more specifically Italian artists, – recuperating their individualism when emerging out of totalitarianism. This exegesis of Paolozzi's career terminates before he wholeheartedly embraces mechanical reproduction and diversifies into print-making in the 1960s. It seemed prudent, therefore, to conclude with the exhibition *This is Tomorrow*, signalling the artist's definitive shift of consciousness from a pre-War to a post-War condition. Clearly, the remit of this study is limited. In order to gauge a more holistic view of the artist's career and to what extent Paolozzi continued to reference and respond to formative experiences,

as well as contemporaneous current affairs and global events, it would be necessary to apply the same level of critical enquiry to his work of the 1960s through to the 2000s; the constraints of time, however, have not permitted this.

It is hoped that the fresh perspective offered by this analysis of Paolozzi will inspire further scholarship on the artist. His unique positioning as a figure both 'inside' and 'outside' the British art scene offers new implications for studies in British art history. Paolozzi was one of the few émigré artists accepted into English society who was of the intellectual 'Right' in the formative days of his career. Paolozzi brought to his work vanguard practices learned from Italian Fascist culture which was inherently political, and necessarily iconoclastic. He applied the tactics learned from iconographies of Fascist power – monumentalism, a hieratic machine aesthetic, imperial classical proportion and symmetry, a masculine hard-edged aesthetic and commensurable aggression – to forge his own artistic vocabulary; resolute against what he perceived to be the hostile forces of the English art establishment. To date, art historical assessments of post-War artistic endeavours have a bias toward documenting those made by the intellectual 'Left' and marginalising those made by other contributors. Mario Sironi is a good example of an artist whose allegiance to Mussolini has meant that until more recent times his artistic integrity has been neglected. Others, such as Lucio Fontana and Bruno Munari, have been assessed for their post-War practice to the exclusion of their Futurist inspired early careers. It seems timely to make a substantive reassessment of Paolozzi, openly addressing the locus of his formative ideals and detailing his distancing from them.

Paolozzi's brilliance ought to be apparent irrespective of his political affiliations since he made genuinely innovatory avant-garde works which were not simply new to Britain's somewhat backward-looking milieu, but were new to the international artistic community: the ahead-of-its-time innovation of his proto-Pop *Bunk* series created a decade before Warhol and Rauschenberg, his monumental Brutalist sculptures that captured the spirit of the era and which ignited a new language of recycled forms, his contribution to opening up a democratisation between the arts –

moving between textile designs, reliefs, print and installation sculpture, – and his insistence on diminishing the division between ‘high’ and ‘low’ cultural experiences. If the catalyst for these ventures was embedded in utopian early century Modernism, its invention of photo-collage, use of non-precious materials and ‘synthesis of the arts,’ Paolozzi’s ironic and self-referential articulation is truly post-Modern. The ramshackle shed presented by *Patio and Pavilion* (1956) provides the perfect antidote to the grandiloquent imperatives of the 1930s world art fair pavilions which offered visions of unalloyed progress, lives of increased ease, and an exhilarating future. It would be a fascinating future research project to explore how *Patio and Pavilion* fits into the story of world exhibitions, and to more specifically elucidate on the cross-fertilisations between the Italian and British avant-gardes. The dialogue between Paolozzi’s inclusive artistic practices and those being explored by Italy’s designers would be another fascinating extension to this research. Whichever aspect of Paolozzi’s prolific career is analysed, the artist’s language of forms are always motivated and cannot easily be pigeon-holed. An author, rather than a copyist, Paolozzi did not ape stylistic trends, he forged his own.

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<i>Fight the Enemy.</i> U.S.A	War
<i>Fightin' Air Force.</i> U.S.A	War
<i>Fightin' Army.</i> U.S.A	War
<i>Flying Saucers from Other Worlds</i>	Science Fiction
<i>Flying Saucers Pictorial.</i> U.S.A	Science Fiction
<i>Flying Saucers.</i> U.S.A	Science Fiction
<i>Ironman and Captain America.</i> U.S.A	Marvel Comics
<i>Ironman and Sub-mariner.</i> U.S.A	Marvel Comics
<i>L'Aquilone</i>	Flying
<i>New Scientist.</i> U.K	Science and Applied Science
<i>New Society.</i> U.K	News, Current Affairs and Human Interest
<i>New Statesman.</i> U.K	News, Current Affairs and Human Interest
<i>New Worlds</i>	Various
<i>Pattuglia-X</i>	Flying
<i>Pattuglia Acrobatica Nazionale</i>	Flying
<i>Science Fiction Adventures.</i> U.S.A	Science Fiction

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134. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Krokodeel*, 1956 (Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh).
135. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Very Large Head*, 1958 (Offer Waterman & Co., London).
136. Eduardo Paolozzi, *The Philosopher* (1957), (Offer Waterman & Co., London).
137. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Icarus*, 1957 (Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh).
138. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Japanese War God*, 1958 (with kind permission of Albright-Knox Gallery, Buffalo).
139. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Jason*, 1956 (Museum of Modern Art, New York).
140. Eduardo Paolozzi, *St. Sebastian I*, 1957 (Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh).
141. Eduardo Paolozzi, *St. Sebastian II*, 1957 (Guggenheim Museum, New York).

142. Eduardo Paolozzi, *St. Sebastian III*, 1958-9 (Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterlo).

143. Umberto Boccioni, *Unique Forms of Continuity in Space*, 1913 (Museum of Modern Art, New York).

144. Umberto Boccioni, *Antigraceful*, 1914 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

145. David Smith, *The Hero*, 1951-2 (The Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York).



1. Plaster Cast of *Laocoön and his sons* (c.200 BC)



2. The artist's father, Rudolpho, outside his shop on Albert Street, Leith in the 1930s



3. Eduardo Paolozzi and his Mother Carmella (1934)



4. Fascist Youth Camp Colonie Marina XXVIII Ottobre, Cattolica, designed by
Clemente Busiri-Vici (1887 – 1965) in 1932



5. Italian Fascist Youth Camp activities, photographed in the 1930s.



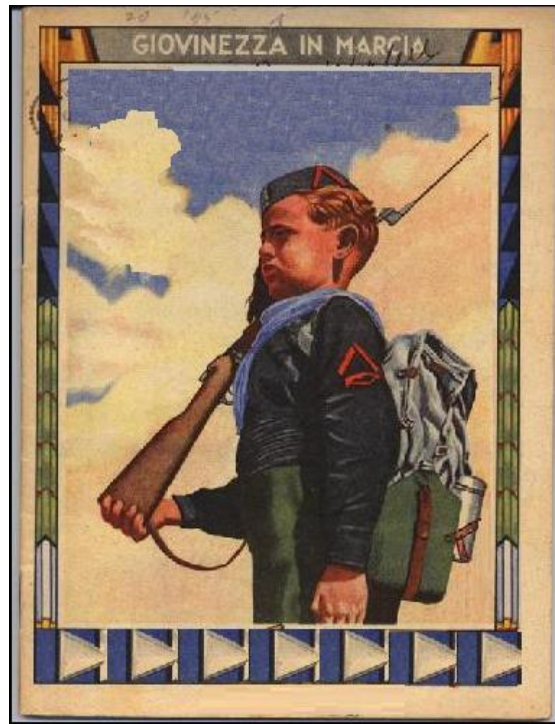
6. Italian Fascist Youth Camp activities in the 1930s: *Figli della Lupa* (top) and *Balilla* (bottom), engaged in military training.



7. Italian Fascist Youth Camp activities in the 1930s: *Balilla* executing ritual exercises such as flag-raising and pledging oaths of allegiance.



7. Italian Fascist Youth Camp activities in the 1930s: *Balilla* executing ritual exercises such as flag-raising and pledging oaths of allegiance.



8 (i). *Giovinezza in Marcia*, children's school notebooks (1935).



- 8 (ii). *L'Opera Nazionale Balilla (ONB)* leaflet distributed to Italian Fascist youth: 'In the home of God and of Italy swear to carry out the orders of the leader and to serve with all my strength and if necessary with my blood the cause of the Fascist Revolution.'



9. Eduardo Paolozzi, Scrapbook 1940-45



10. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Fisherman and his Wife*, 1946



11. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Bull*, 1946



12. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Oil Lamp* (1947)



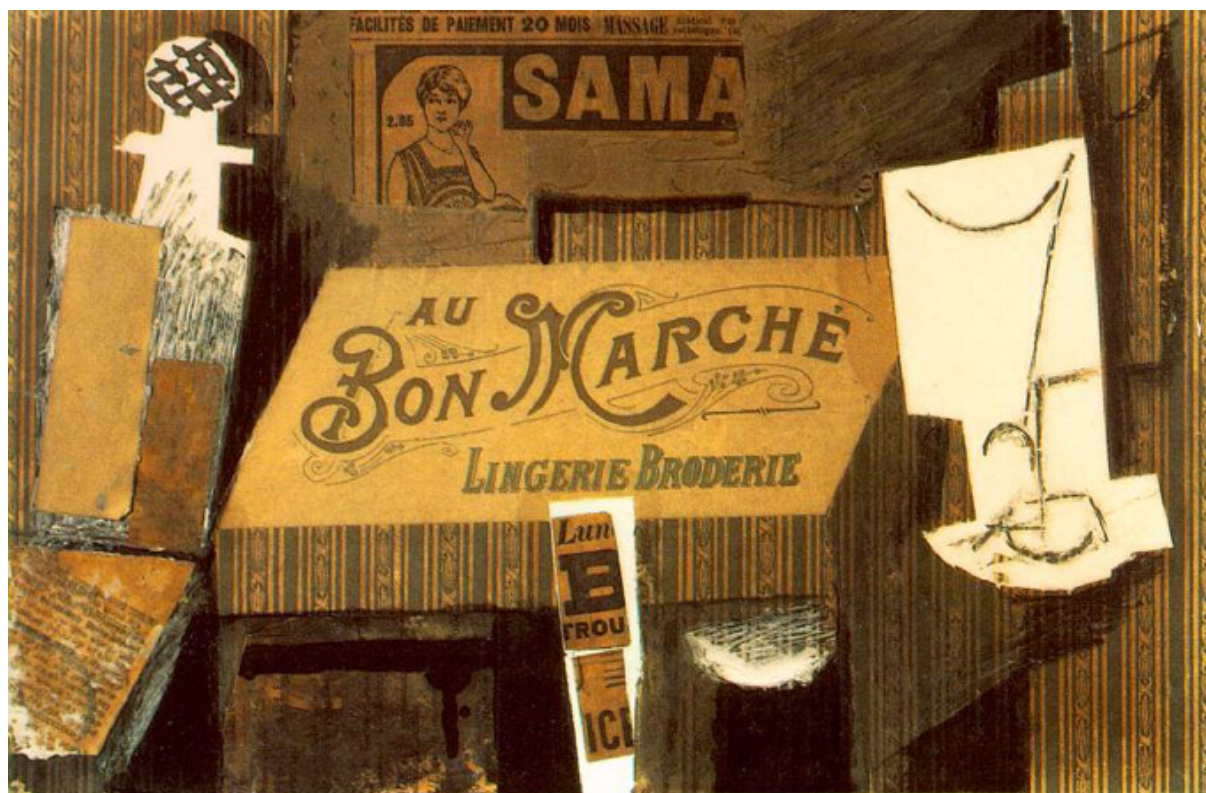
13. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Two Forms on Rod* (1948)



14. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Evadne in Green Dimension*, c.1972



15. Eduardo Paolozzi, Scrapbook 1940-45



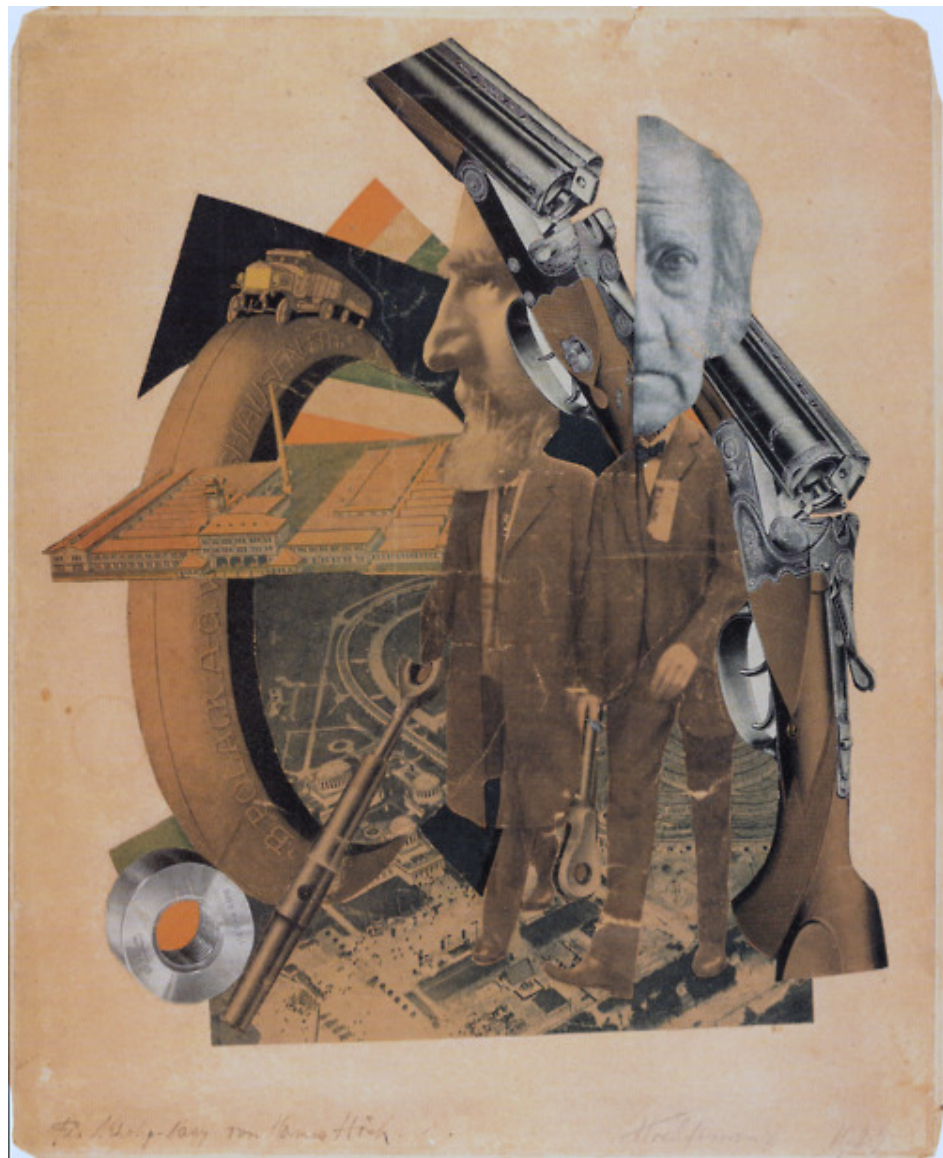
16. Pablo Picasso, *Au Bon Marché*, January 25-26, 1913



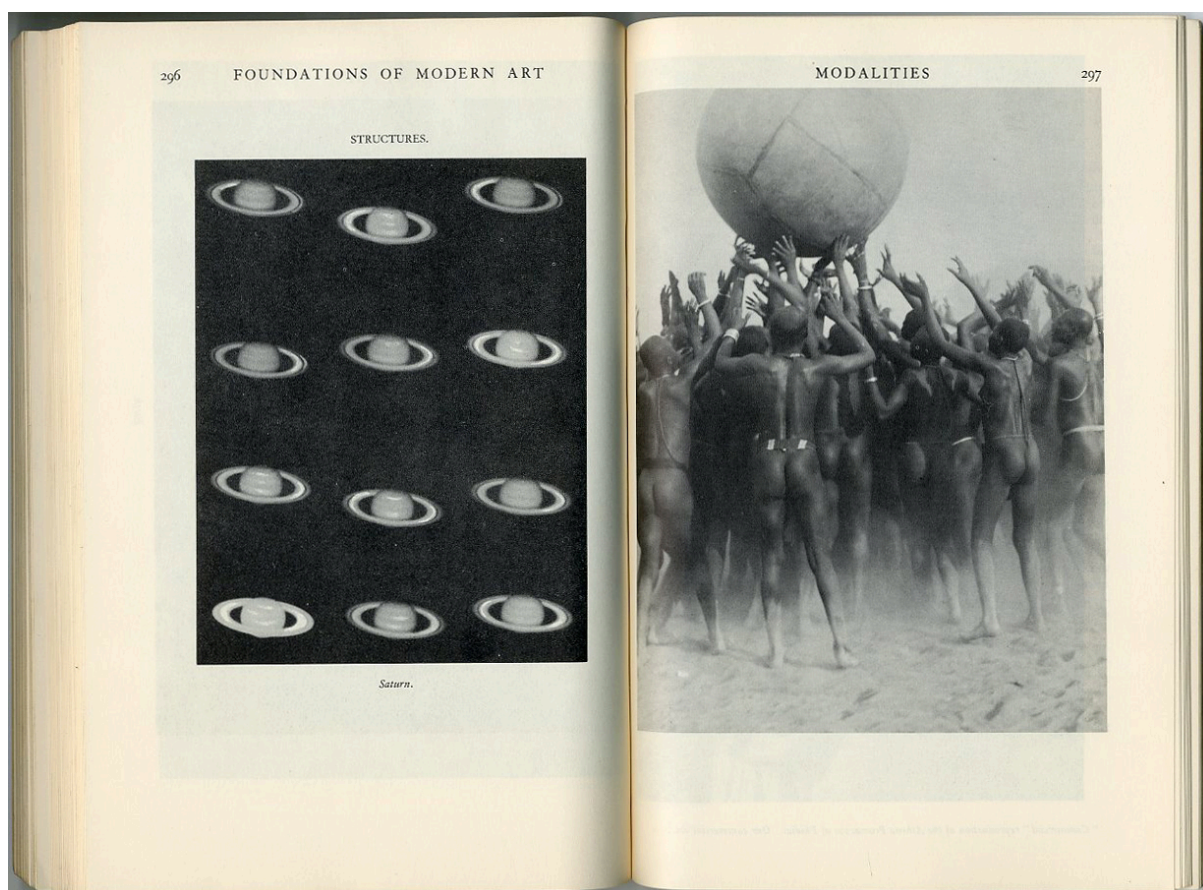
17. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Dr. Pepper* (1948)



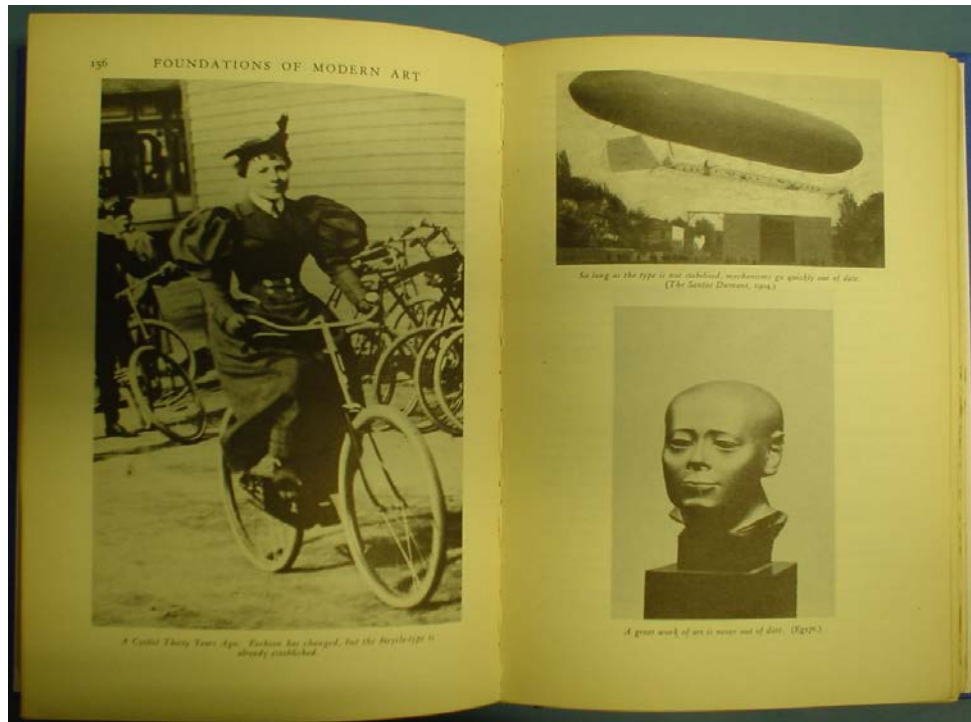
18. Kurt Schwitters, *En Morn* (1947)



20. Hannah Höch, *Hochfinanz* (1923), Galerie Berinson, Berlin



21. Amédée Ozenfant. 1931. *The Foundations of Modern Art*, Dover Publications, New York (trans. John Rodker), p.296-7



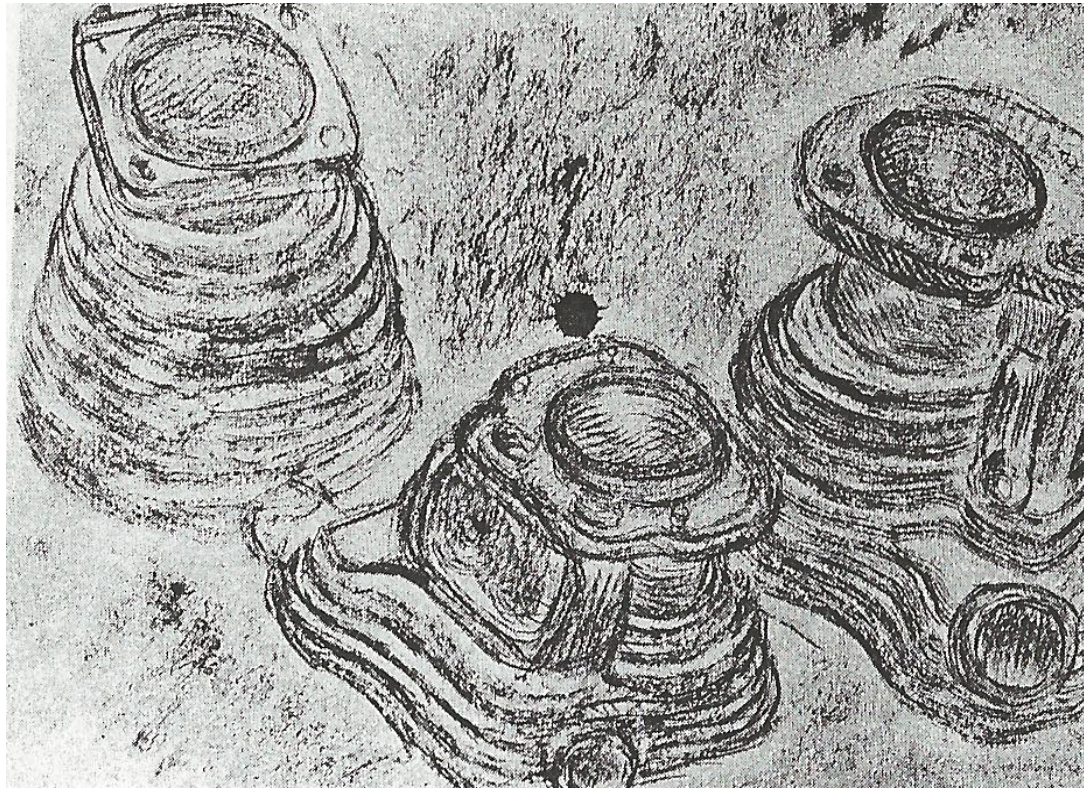
22. Amédée Ozenfant. 1931. *The Foundations of Modern Art*, Dover Publications, New York (trans. John Rodker), p.156-7



23. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Parete con decorazioni* (1941)



24. Eduardo Paolozzi, Untitled collage, Scrapbook (c.1940-45)



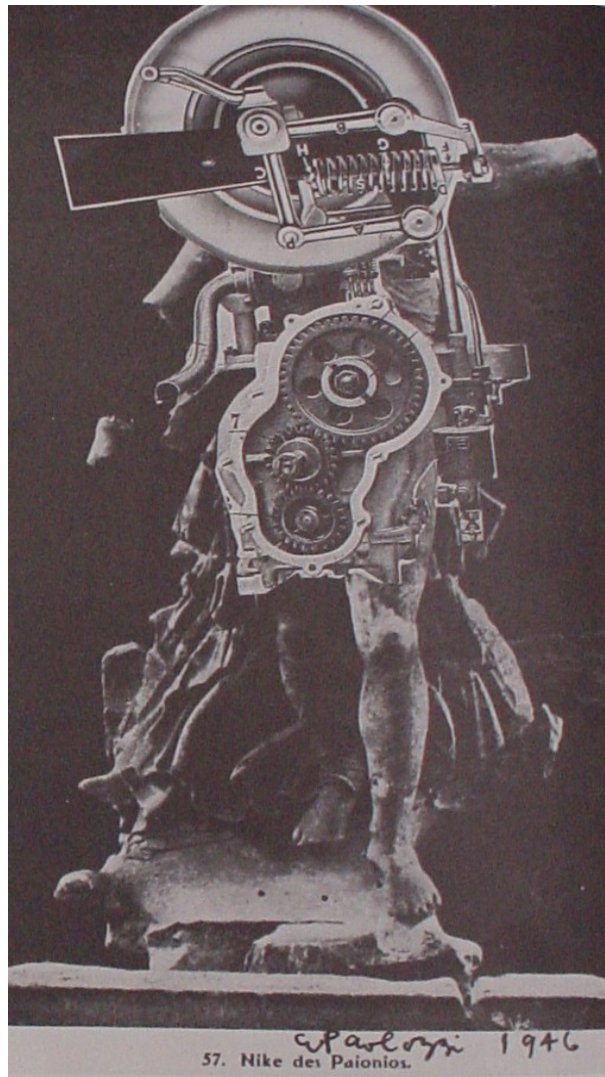
25. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Carburettors* (1944)



26. Eduardo Paolozzi, *I was a Rich Man's Plaything* (1946)



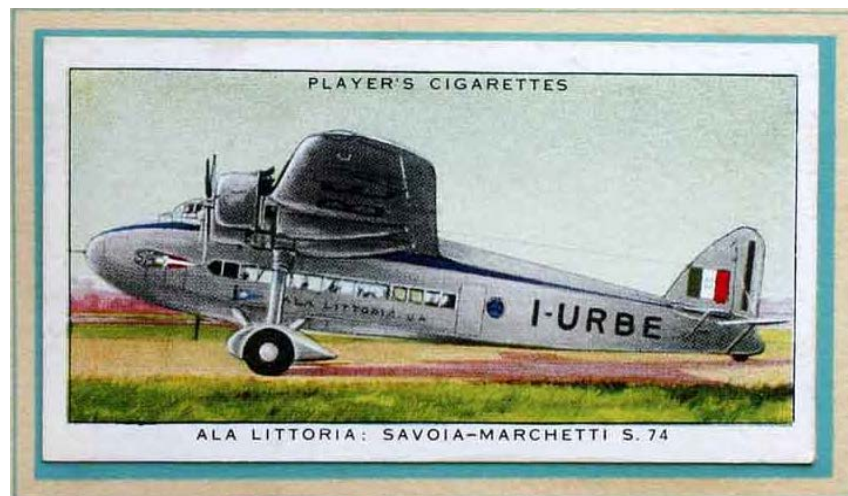
27. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Acropolis Museum* (1946/7)



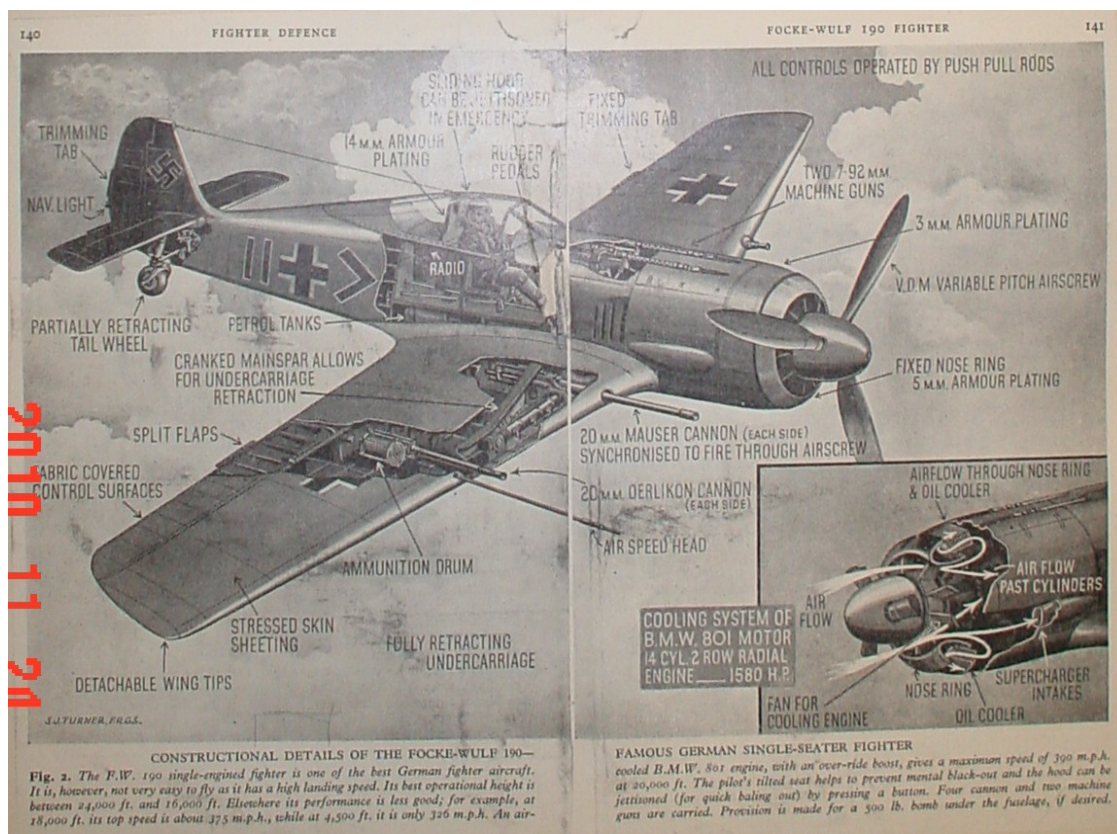
28. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Nike des Paionios*, 1946



29. Lucio Fontana, *Image of Victory* made for the *Salon della Vittoria*, at the IV Triennale in Milan, destroyed (1936)



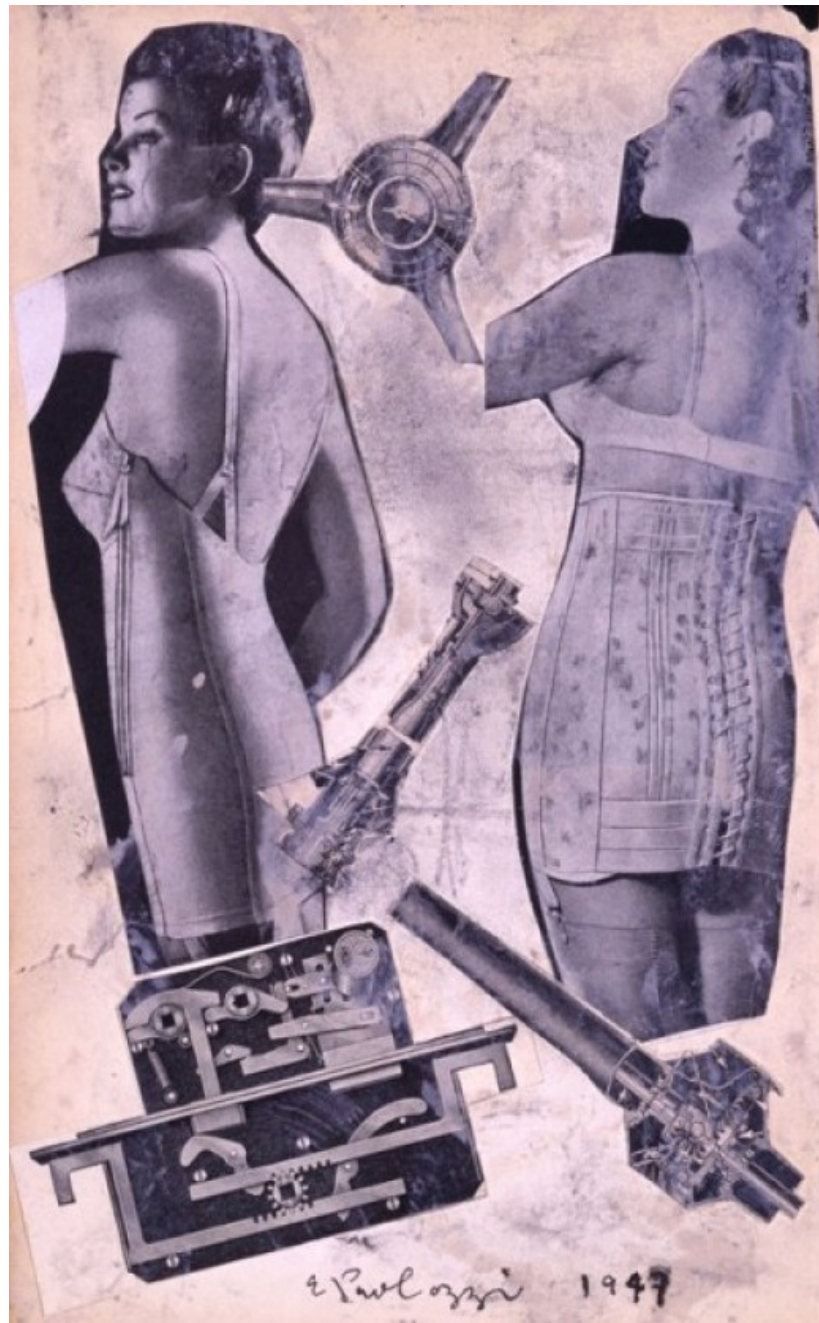
30 (ii). John Players & Sons cigarette card no.29 profiling Ala Littoria: Savoia-Marchetti S.74 (c.1936-7)



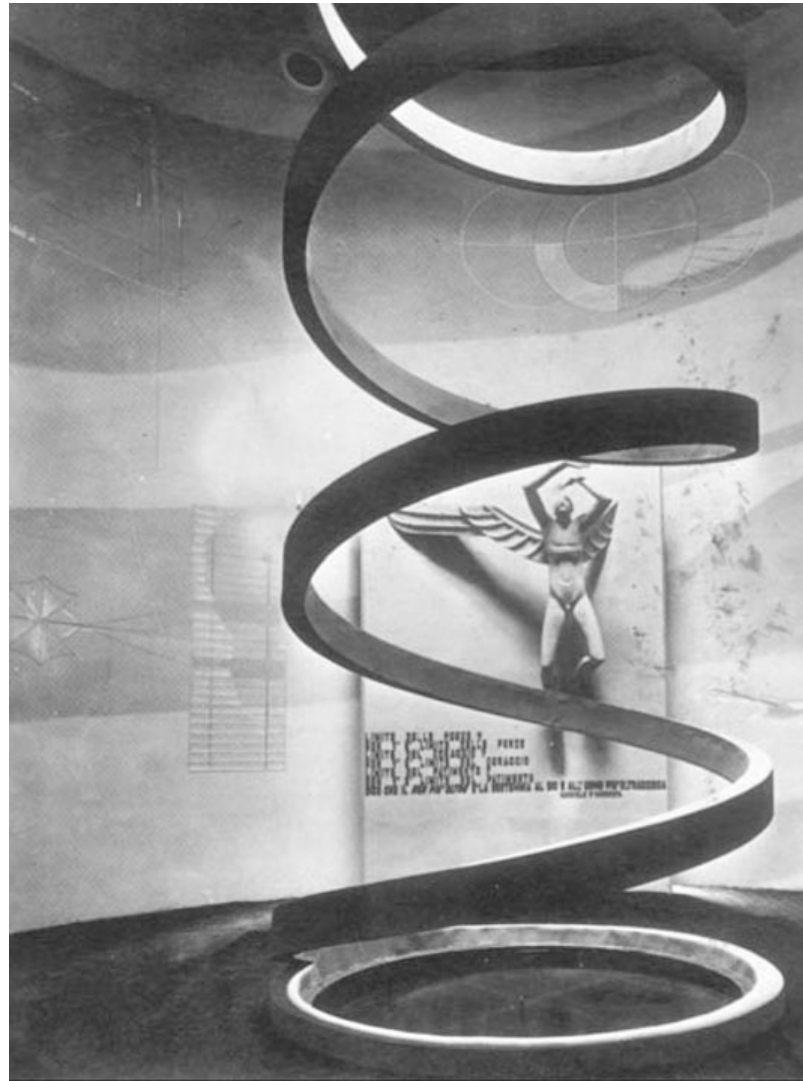
31. German Focke-Wulf 190, *Encyclopaedia of Aviation* (Eduardo Paolozzi's Krazy Kat Archive)



32. Eduardo Paolozzi, double page spread in 'People of China' scrapbook, brings together an image of a Curtiss S A 25- Hell Diver with a T-34 Army Tank and a photograph of soldiers donning camouflage uniforms.



33. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Locked Corsets* (1947)



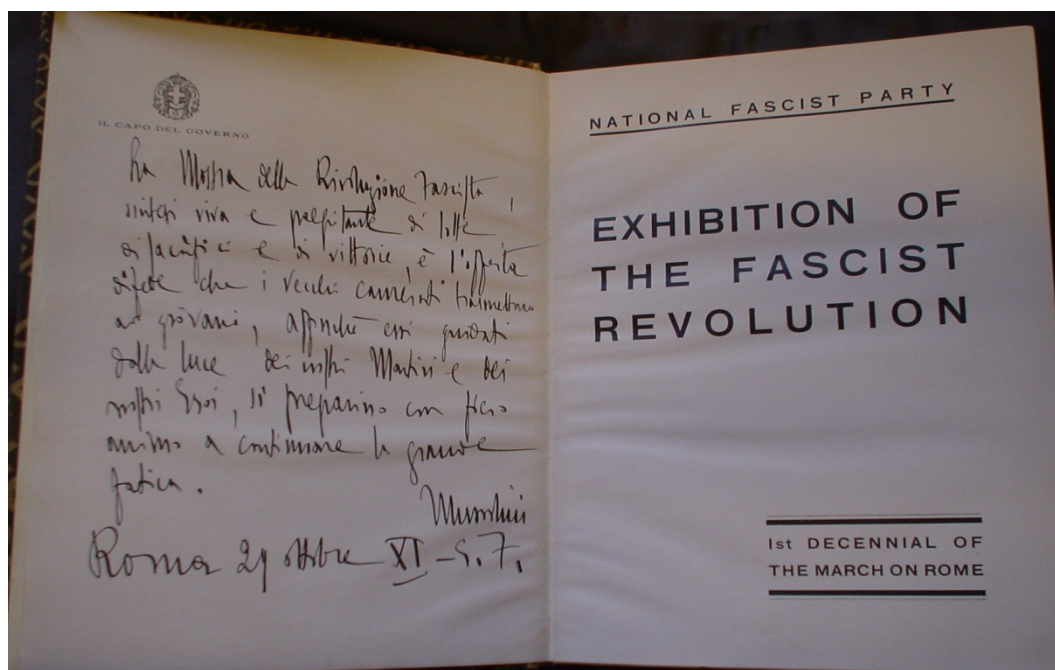
34. The Cylindrical Hall of Icarus, *Esposizione dell'aeronautica Italiana* (1934)

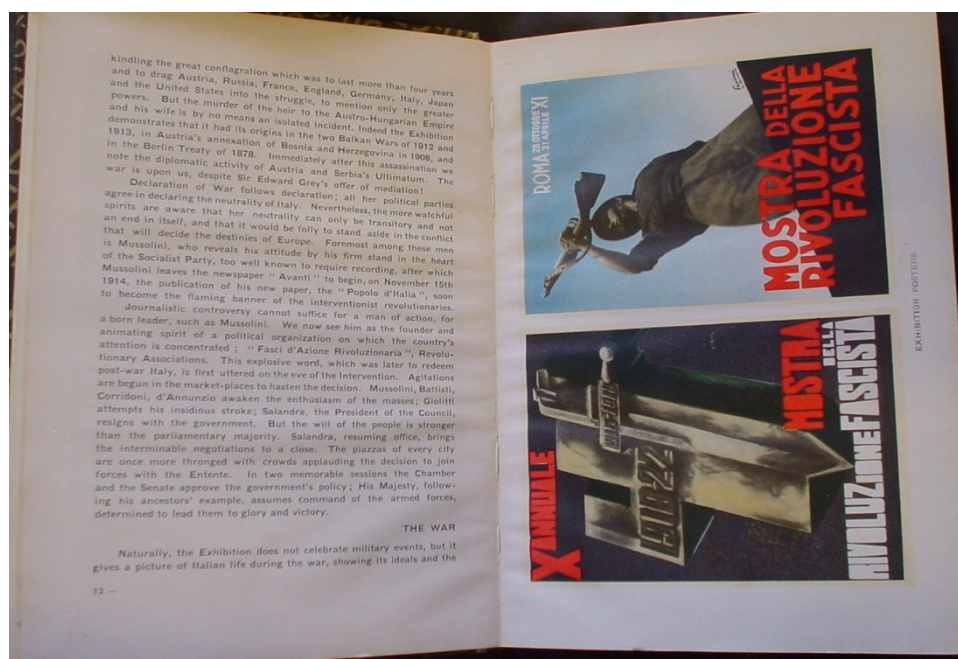
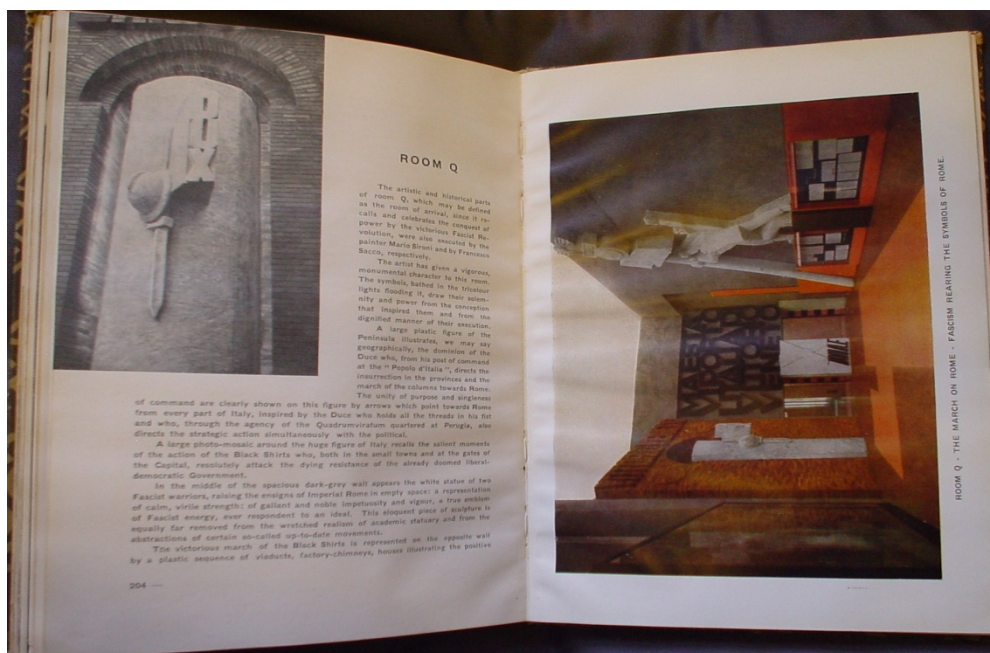


35. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Il Duce*, 'Creator of Fascism,' Scrapbook (c.1940-5)



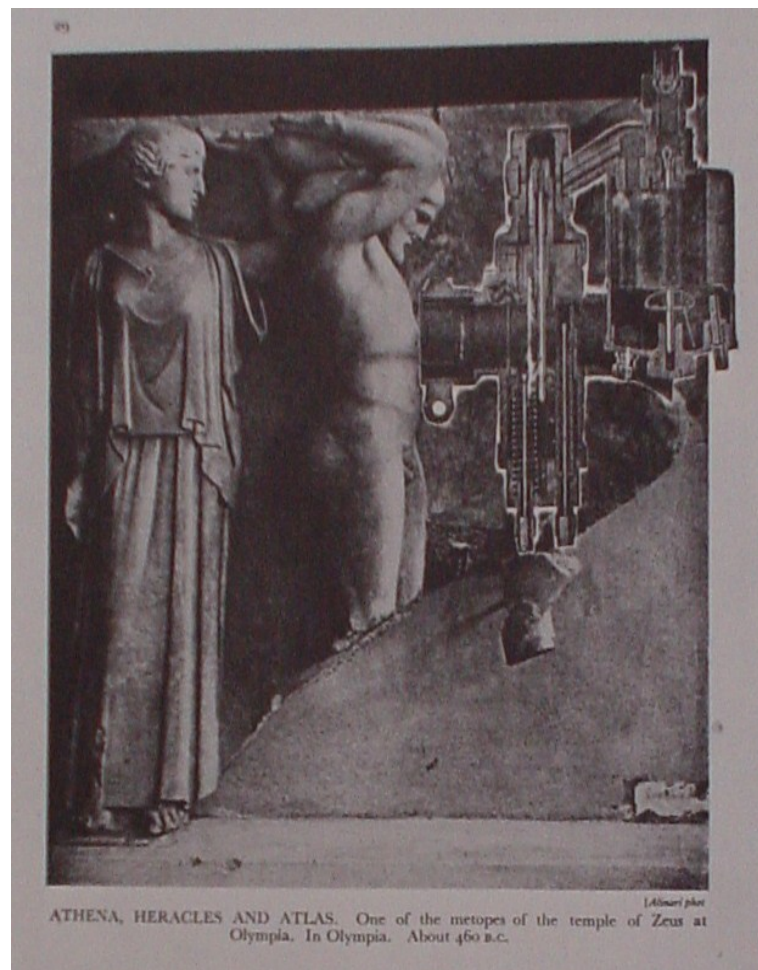
36 (i). Guidebook for the *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascist* (1932)



36 (ii). Guidebook for the *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista* (1932)



37. The facade of *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista*, which was designed by Adalberto Libera in collaboration with an older more experienced architect Mario De Renzi (1932)



38. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Athena, Heracles and Atlas* (1945)



39. Eduardo Paolozzi, 'Today's Idols – Male,' Scrapbook (c.1940-5)



40. Mario Sironi, 'The Room celebrating the March on Rome,' *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascist*, 1932



41. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Butterfly* (1946)



42. Mario Sironi, recreation of Mussolini's desk in the 'Salon of Honour,' *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascist*, 1932



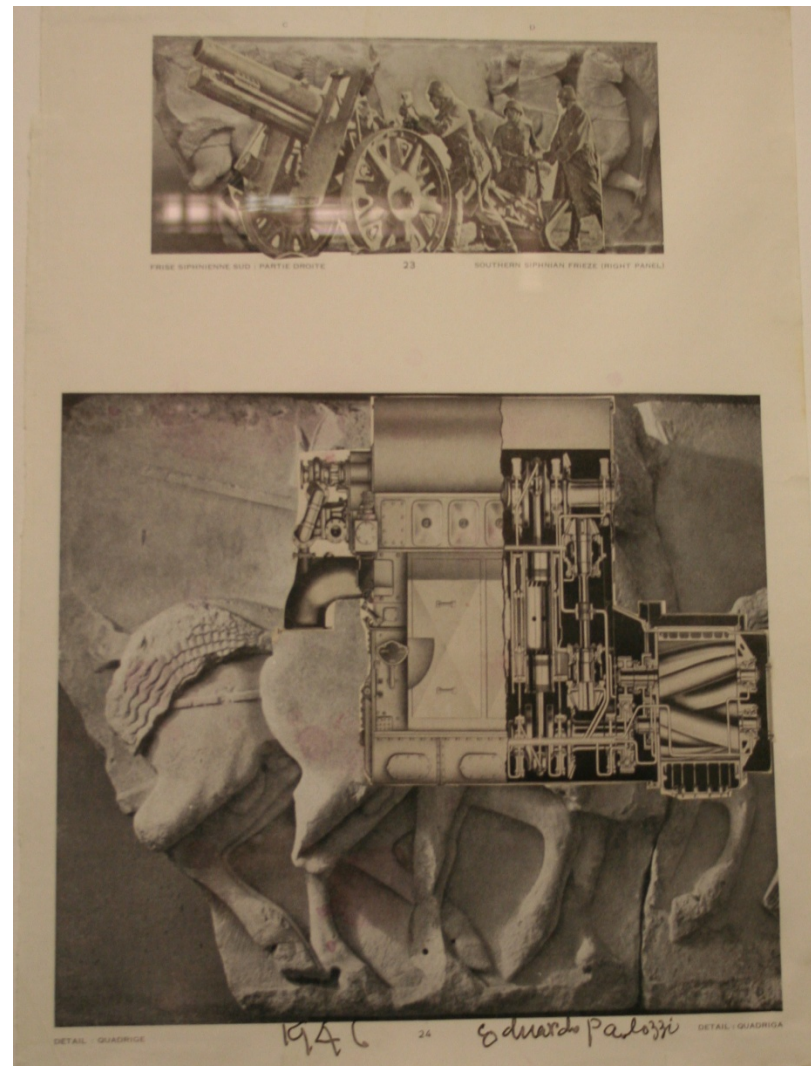
43. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Group of Gauls* (1947)



44. (i) Mario Sironi, 'Gallery of Fasci,' *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista* (1932)



44. (ii) Mario Sironi, 'Gallery of Fasci,' *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascist* (1932)



45. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Southern Siphnian Frieze* (1946)



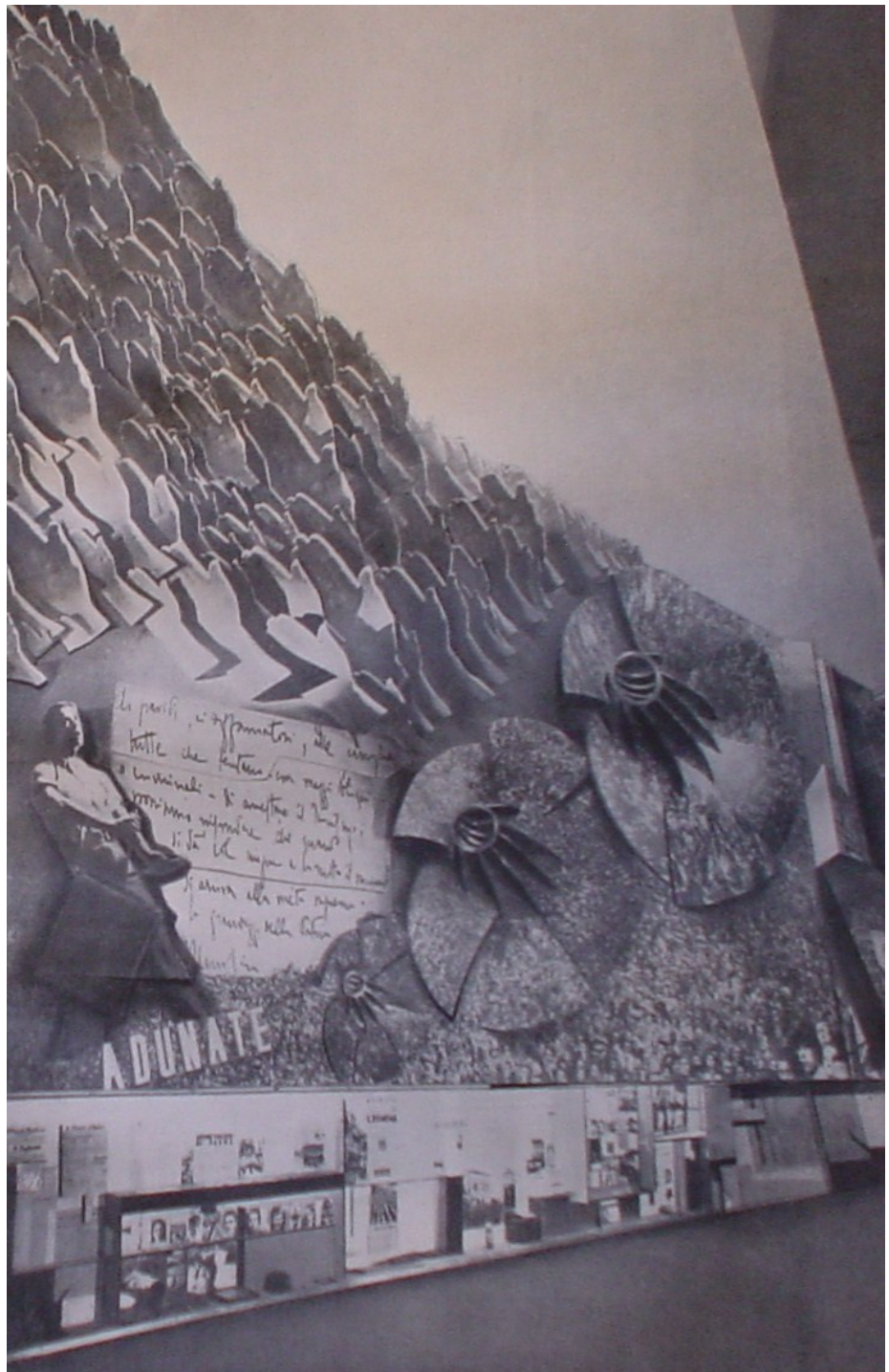
46. Mario Marini, *The Pilgrim* (1939)



47. Giorgio de Chirico, *Horses on the Shore* (c. 1942)



48. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Standing Horse* (1946)



48. Giuseppe Terragni, 'Room of 1922,' *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascist* (1932)

50. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Lessons of the Last Time* (1947)



51. Eduardo Paolozzi, *It's a Psychological Fact
Pleasure Helps your Disposition* (1948)



52. 'Donne Nuove a Orvieto,' illustrated in *Tempo settimanale illustrato* (number 10, 3 August 1939)



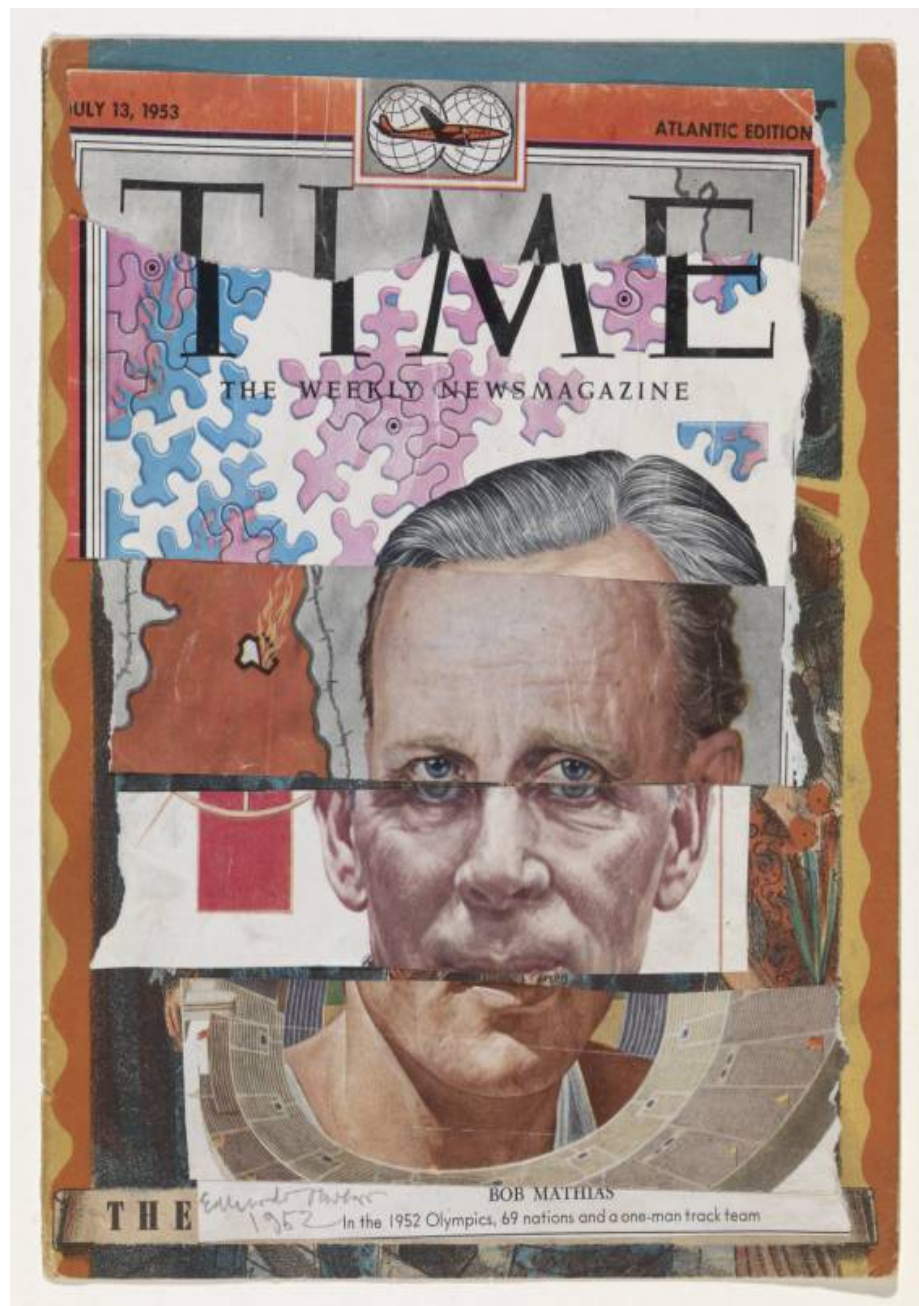
53. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Wind Tunnel Test* (1950)



54. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Yours 'til the Boys Come Home* (1951)



55. Richard Hamilton, *Hommage à Chrysler Corp* (1957)



56. Eduardo Paolozzi, *One Man Track Team* (1952)



57. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Templar of Malaya* (1953)



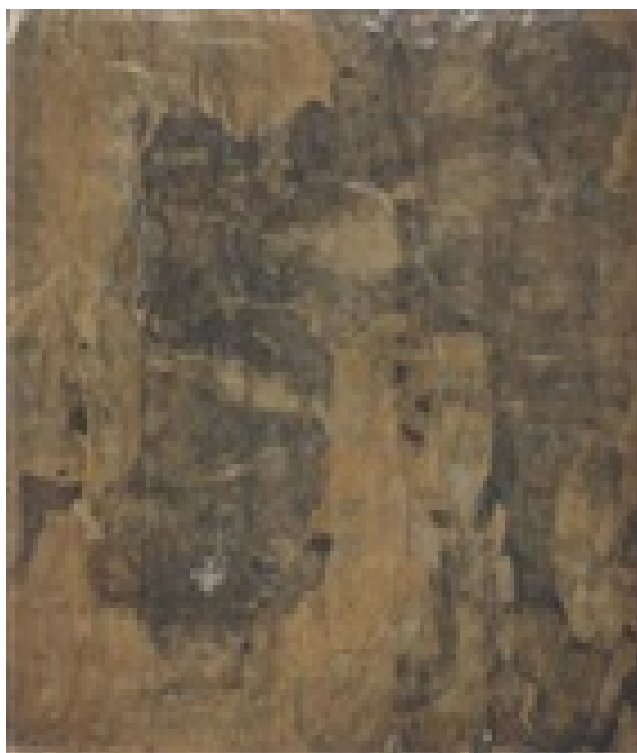
58. Eduardo Paolozzi, *David Lilienthal* (1952)



59. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Mr. Gromyko* (1950)



60. Enrico Prampolini, *Intervista con la Materia* (1927)



61. Mimmo Rotella *Partendo dall'angolo della strada* (1954)



62. César Baldaccini, *Nu Assis, Pompei* (1954)



63. Ettore Colla, *Nike Agreste* (c.1954)



64. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Icarus* (1957)



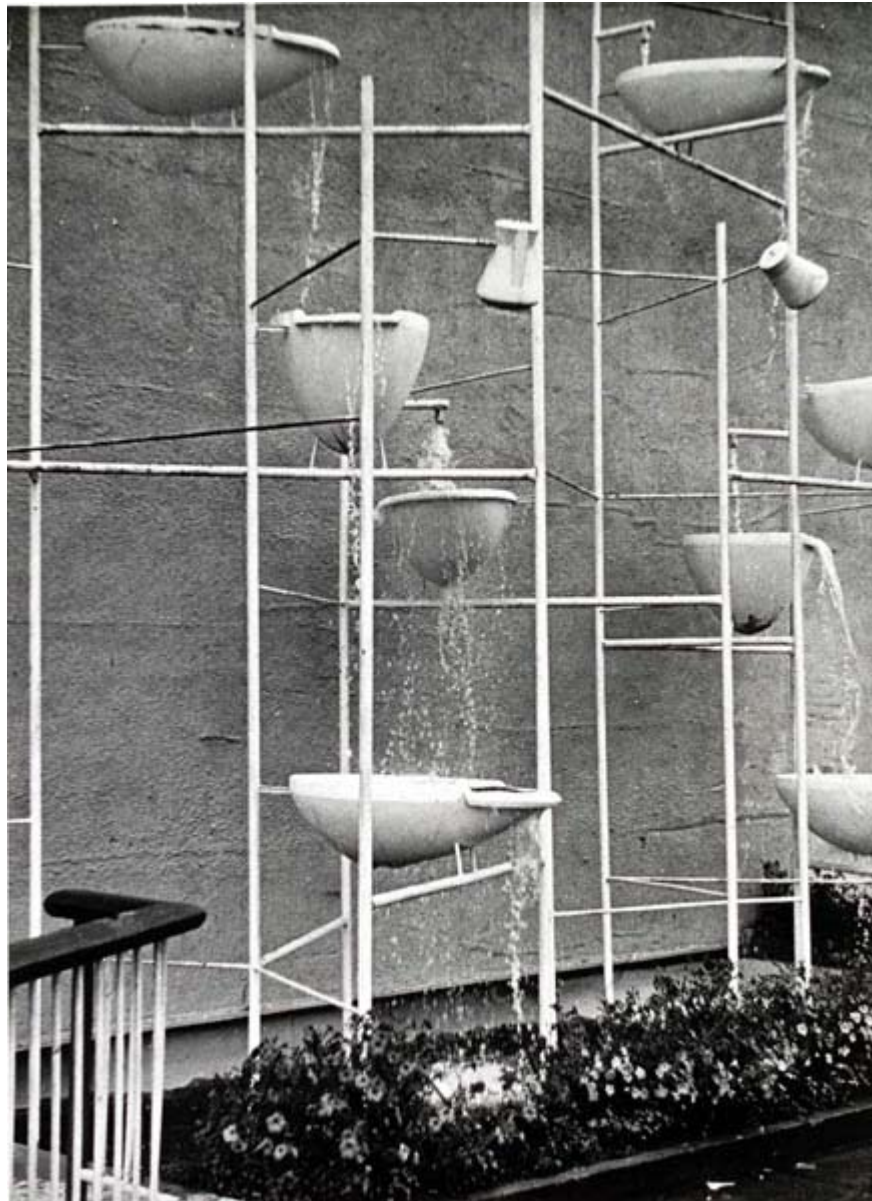
65. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Collage January to July* (1951)



66. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Collage Mural* (1952)



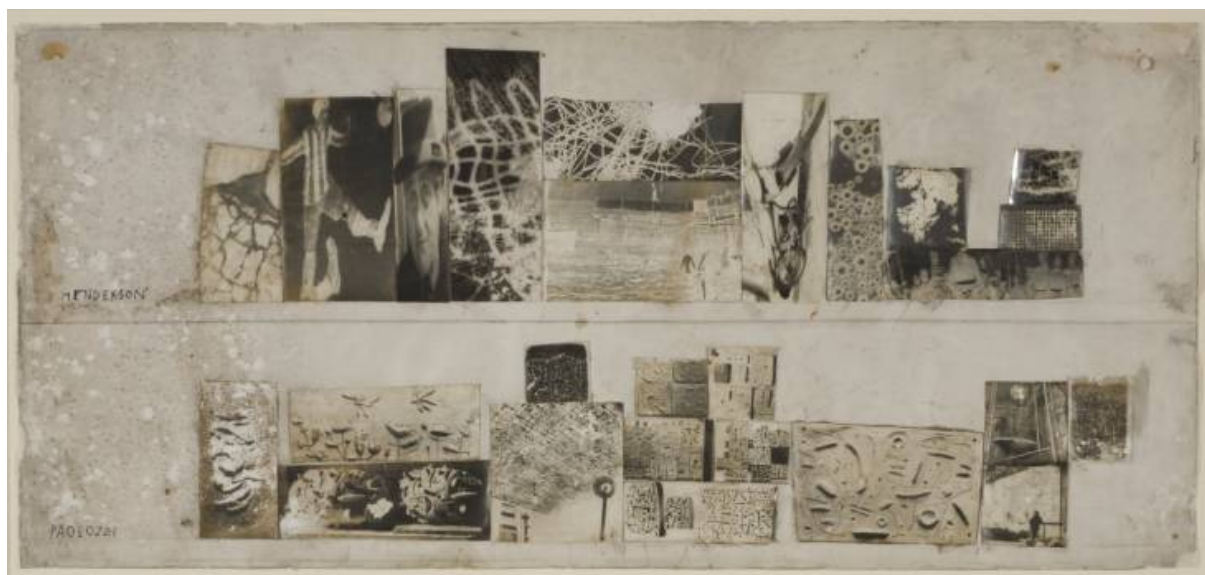
67. Bruno Munari, *Macchina Aritmica* (1953)



68. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Fountain* for the Festival of Britain (1951)



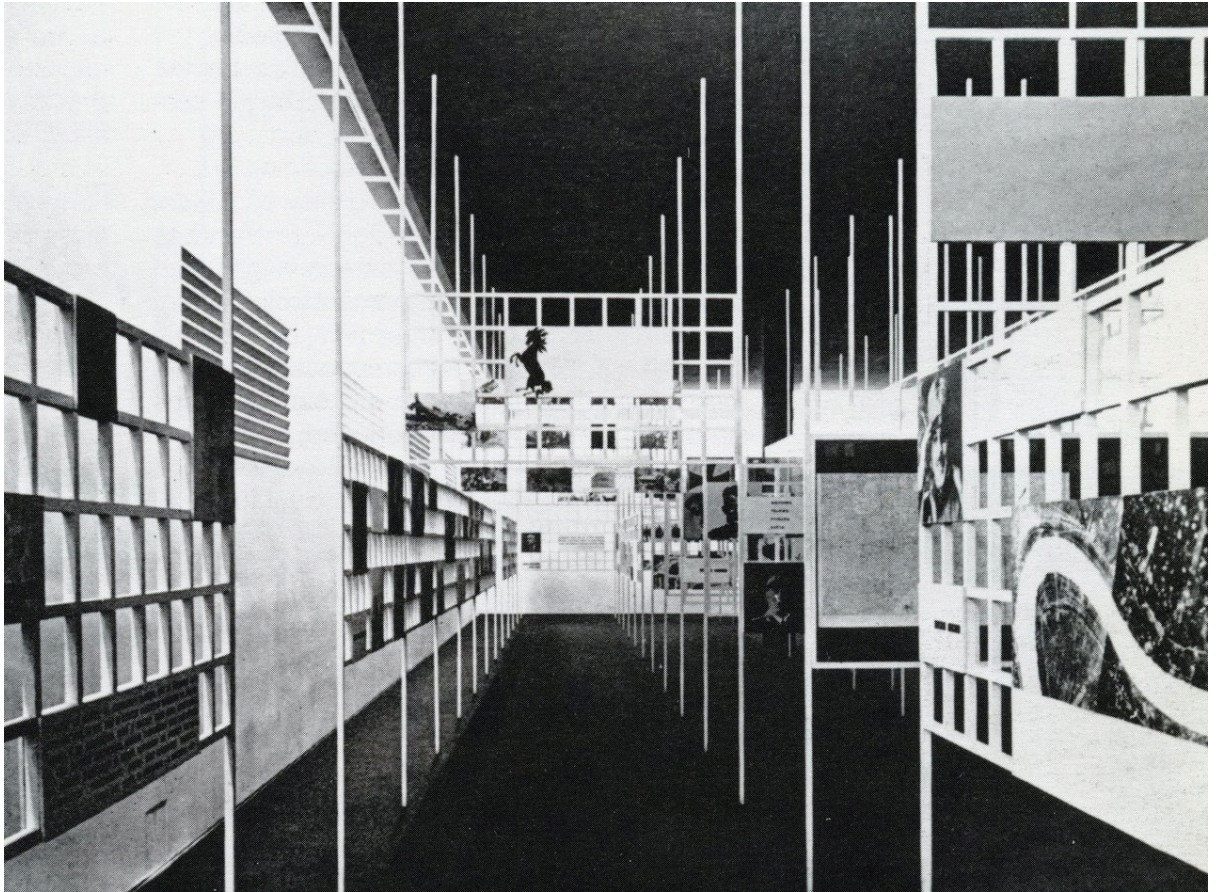
69. Installation of the *Parallel of Life and Art* exhibition (1953) at the Institute of Contemporary Art in London.



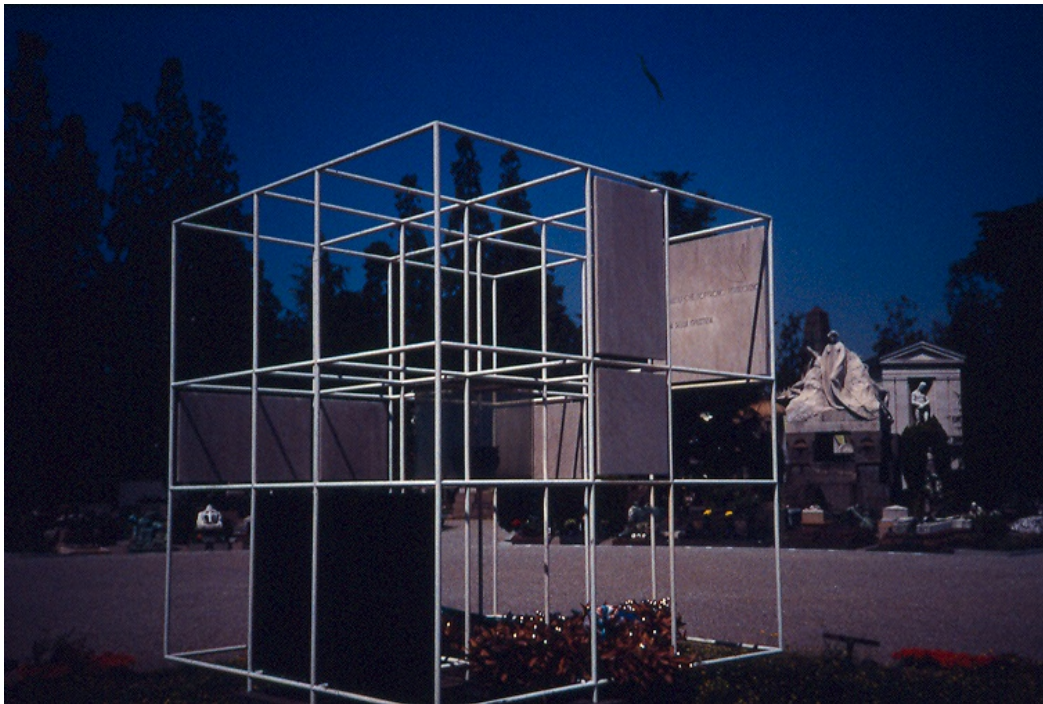
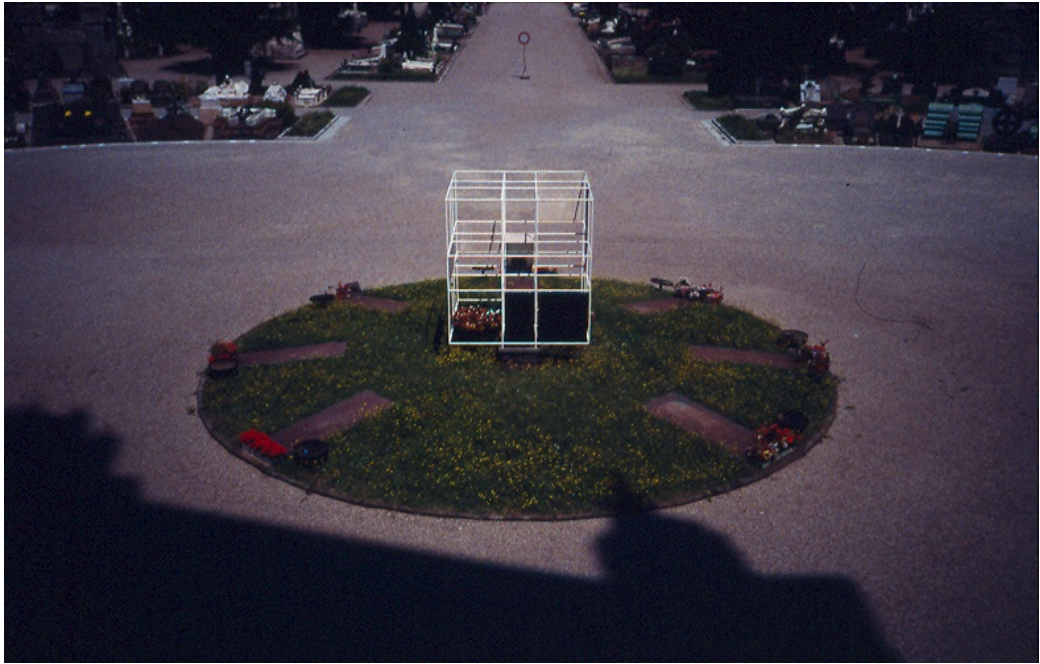
70. Eduardo Paolozzi and Nigel Henderson, *Untitled (Study for Parallel of Life and Art)* (1952)



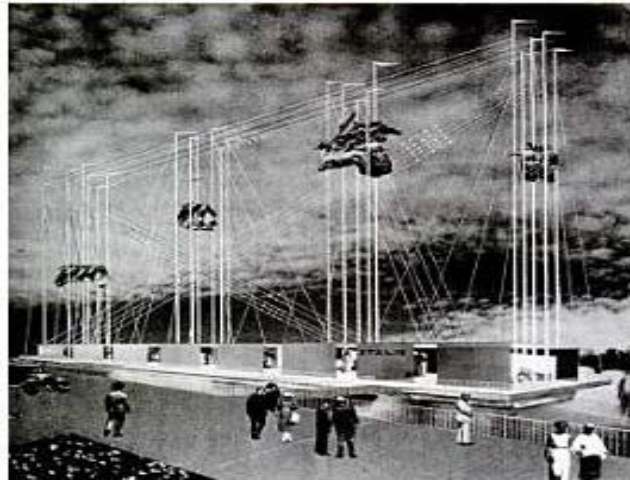
71. Alberto Burri, *Sacking and Red* (1954)



2. Edoardo Persico and Marcello Nizzoli in the Fascist exhibition *Esposizione dell'aeronautica Italiana*, Milan (1934)



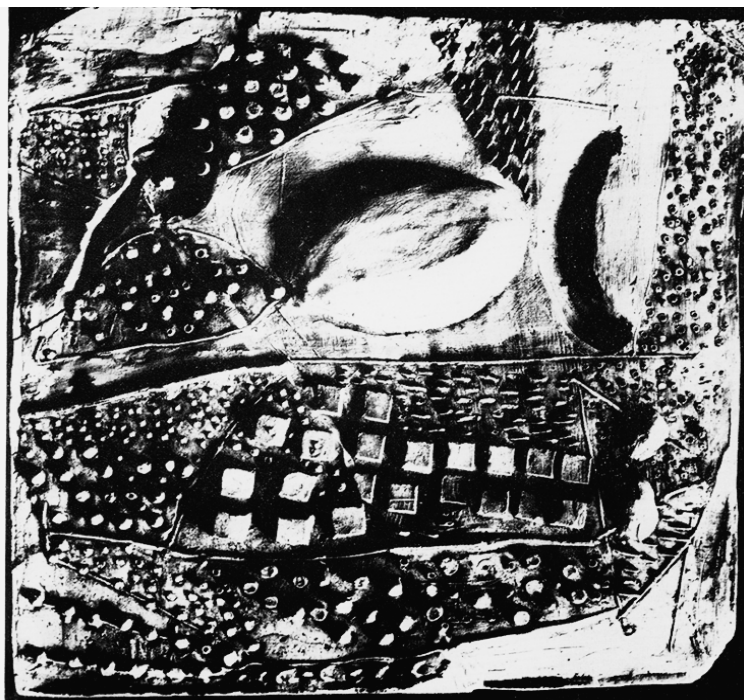
72. (ii) BBPR, *Monument to the Victims of the Concentration Camps*, Cimitero Monumentale, Milan (1946)



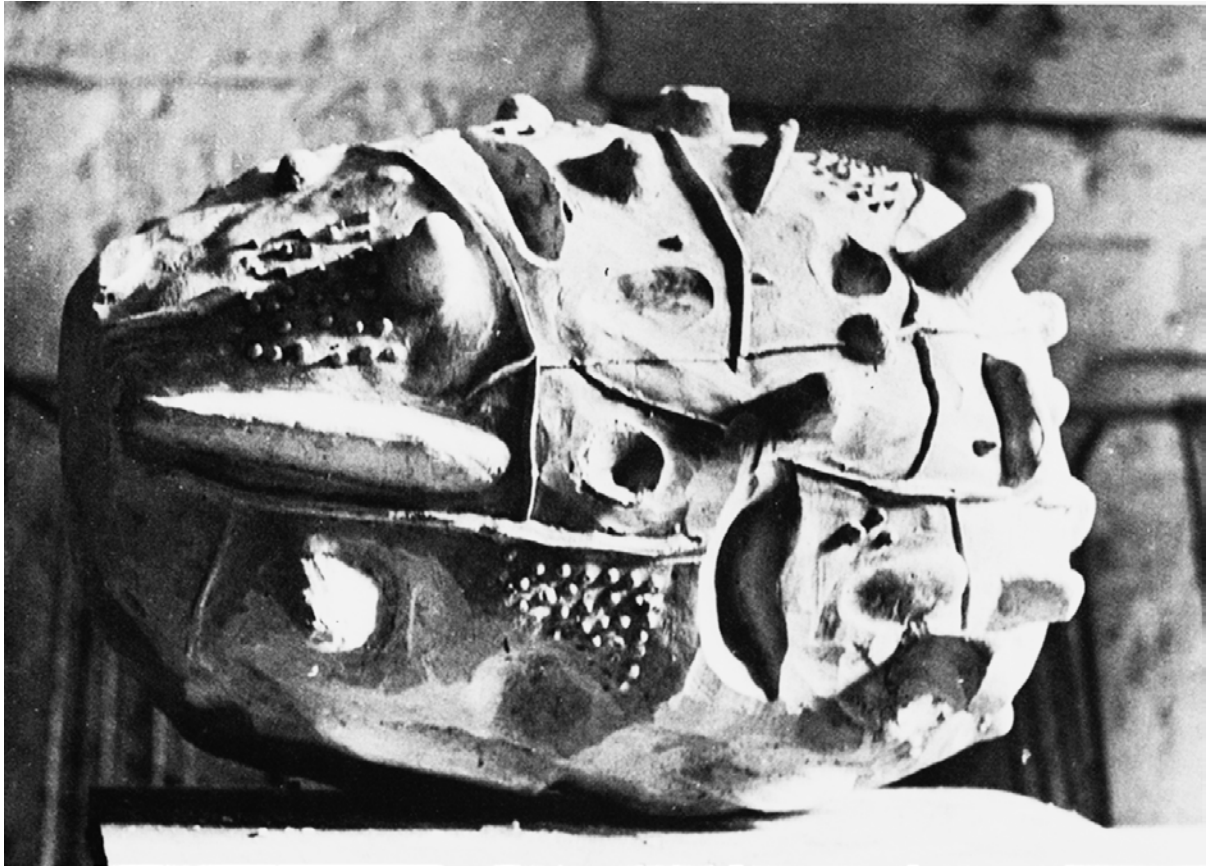
73. Lucio Fontana, four painted plaster reliefs positioned within the Padiglione galleggiante delle compagnie di navigazione Italia (Floating Pavilion of the Italian Steamship Companies), 1937, by BBPR, headed by Luigi Banfi, Ludovico Belgiojoso, Enrico Peressutti, and Ernesto Nathan Rogers.



74. Lucio Fontana, *Marine Forms* (1949)



75. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Fish* (1948)



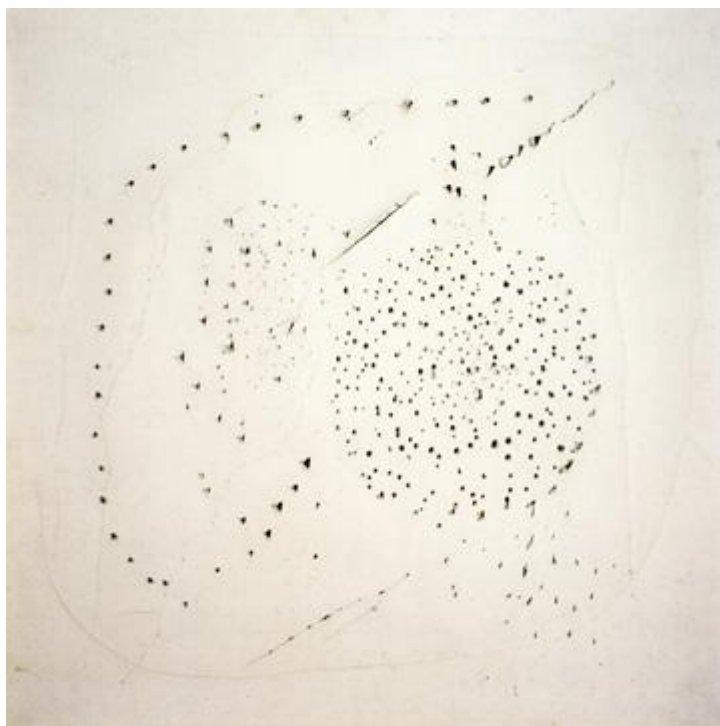
76. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Study for a larger version in concrete* (1951)



77. Lucio Fontana, *Battle* series (1947 to 1949)



78. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Maquette for The Unknown Political Prisoner Competition* (1952)



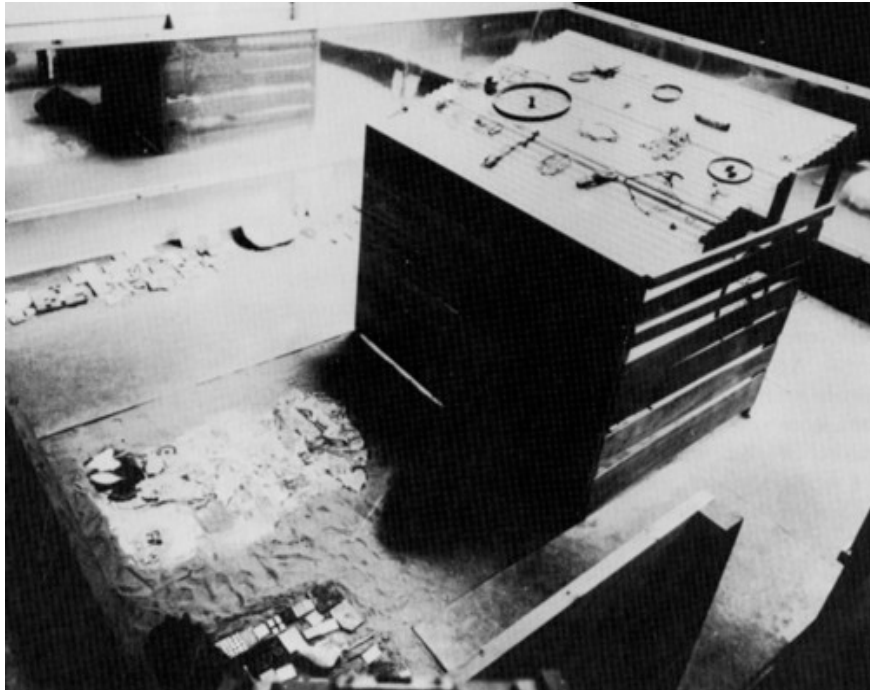
79. Lucio Fontana, *Concetto Spaziale* (1949)



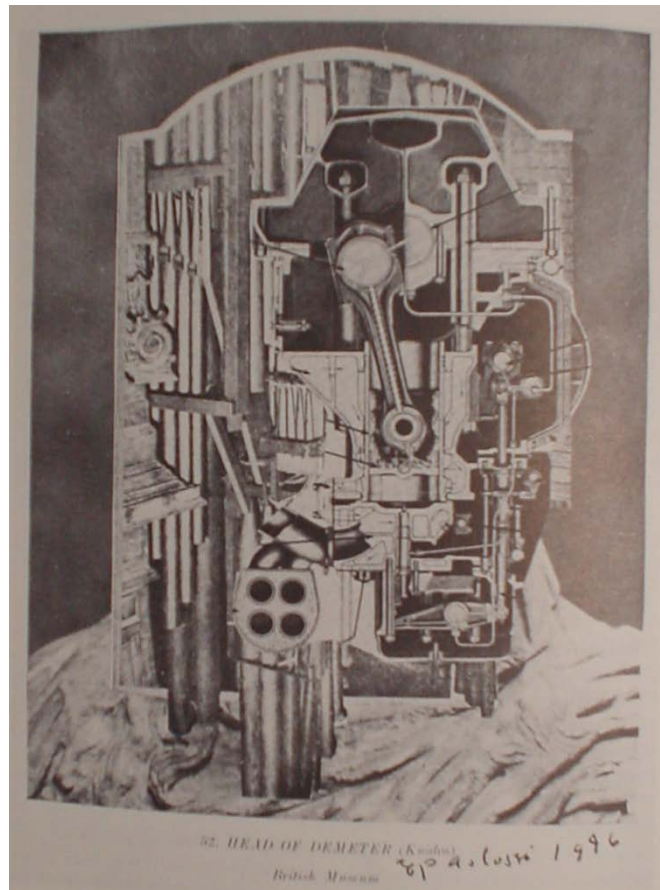
80. Eduardo Paolozzi, *The Cage* (1951)



81. Lucio Fontana, neon whiplash strewn across the ceiling above the grand staircase of Muzio's Palazzo delle Arti, 9th Triennale, Milan (1951)



82. Paolozzi collaborated with architects Alison and Peter Smithson, and Nigel Henderson to design and construct the *Patio and Pavilion, part of This is Tomorrow* exhibition at the Whitechapel Art Gallery London (1956)



83. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Head of Demeter* (1946)



84. Raoul Hausmann, *The Spirit of Our Time* (c.1920)



85. Umberto Boccioni, *Fusion of Head and Window* (1912)



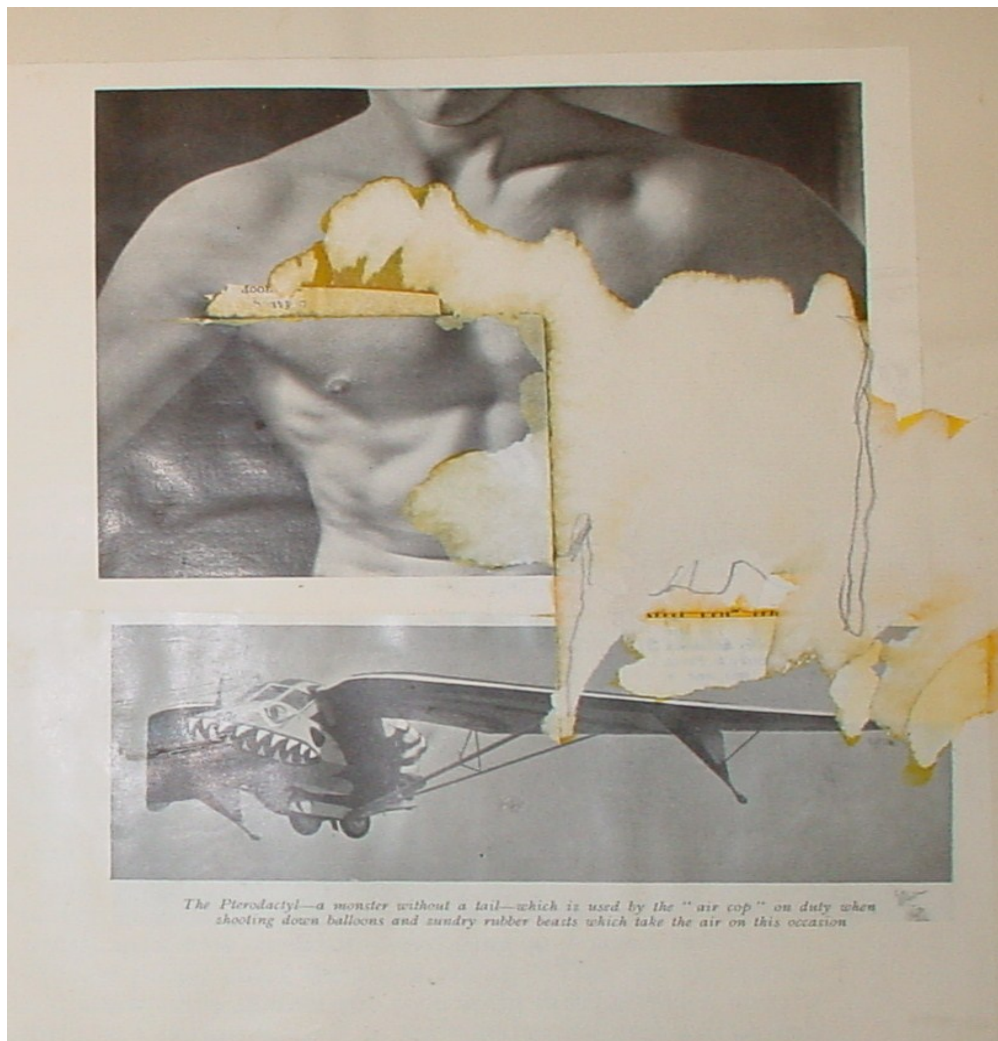
86. Eduardo Paolozzi, 'The Modern Robot,' scrapbook (1940-45)



87. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Wonder Stories – Adventures of Future Science*, from scrapbook (1940-45)



88. Bruno Munari, *And Thus We Would Set about Seeing an Aeroplane Woman*
(c.1936)



89. Eduardo Paolozzi, photograph of a male torso and an illustration of a 'pterodactyl' aircraft in one of the artist's scrapbooks (1940-45)



90. Gerardo Dottori, *Benito Mussolini, 'il Duce'* (1933)



91. Adolfo Wildt, *Ritratto di Benito Mussolini* (c.1925)



92. Mario Sironi, *The Condottiere on Horseback* (1934-5)



93. Umberto Boccioni, *Dynamism of a Cyclist* (1913)



94. Ernesto Thyayaht, *The Great Helmsman* (1939)

HOW A 97-LB. WEAKLING
BECAME THE **WORLD'S MOST PERFECTLY DEVELOPED MAN**

The inspiring story of
CHARLES ATLAS

CHARLES, YOU POOR BOY! YOU STAY SO THIN—AND ALWAYS TIRED!

I KNOW, MOM. THE FELLOWS ARE CALLING ME "THE WEAKLING!"

RUN ALONG KID! WE NEED A HUSKY HE-MAN FOR THE JOB!

I'M GOING TO FIND SOME WAY TO GET A BUILD LIKE THAT!

LIFE GUARD

SO CHARLES ATLAS SPENT MONTH AFTER MONTH SEARCHING FOR A WAY TO DEVELOP HIS BODY. AND FINALLY HE DISCOVERED HIS AMAZING METHOD—**DYNAMIC TENSION!**

EATER! BOY! DYNAMIC TENSION SURE GAVE ME A REAL BUILD FAST! I'M A NEW MAN!

MR. ATLAS, YOU ARE THE ARTIST'S CONCEPTION OF A PERFECT BODY!

YOUR NEVER BELIEVE I WAS ONCE A LITTLE WEAKLING!

CHARLES ATLAS WINS THE TITLE. THIS CONTEST WAS FOR AMERICA'S "MOST PERFECTLY DEVELOPED MAN"

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If you're the way I USED to be—if you are thin and feel only half alive—if the better jobs pass you by—if you're in the service, but are being "passed around"—if you're ashamed to strip for sports or a swim—and if you want a **HE-MAN's** body—then give me just 15 minutes a day! I'll PROVE to you how a build you'll be proud of! That's how I changed my own body, but **"Dynamic Tension"** will do it for you! These much perfect proportions that make muscles and arteries have paid me to be for years. My body won me the title, **World's Most Perfectly Developed Man**. I now I can give you solid, beautiful, EFFULGENT muscles wherever YOU want it!

"DYNAMIC TENSION" Does It!

Only 15 minutes a day. "Dynamic Tension" makes up your whole, builds your back, a your arms and legs. Before you know it, my **NATURAL** method will make you a

New Man! In fact, I GUARANTEE you'll start seeing results in the first 3 days!

I give you my secrets of contractions to build with. You simply utilize the **UNDEVELOPED** muscle-power in your own thin frame body—almost immediately every minute of the day—walking, breathing, even, etc.—to build **MUSCLE** and **VITALITY**. And it's so easy! my words, **"Dynamic Tension"**. Some the truth!

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Thousands of letters in every branch of the service as well as civilians have used my **"Dynamic Tension"** to change themselves into **HE-MAN'S** build what they are—and have they looked before and after—do, or **Dynamic Tension**! I'll send you all actual photos of men I've turned from puny weaklings into **Atlas** Champions. And I can do the same for YOU! Mail the coupon now. A **FREE** and **PERSONAL** **CHARLES ATLAS** book, **"Dynamic Tension"**, 115 East 33rd St., New York 10, N. Y.

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Send me under 16 to _____

95. Eduardo Paolozzi, Scrapbook (c.1940-45)

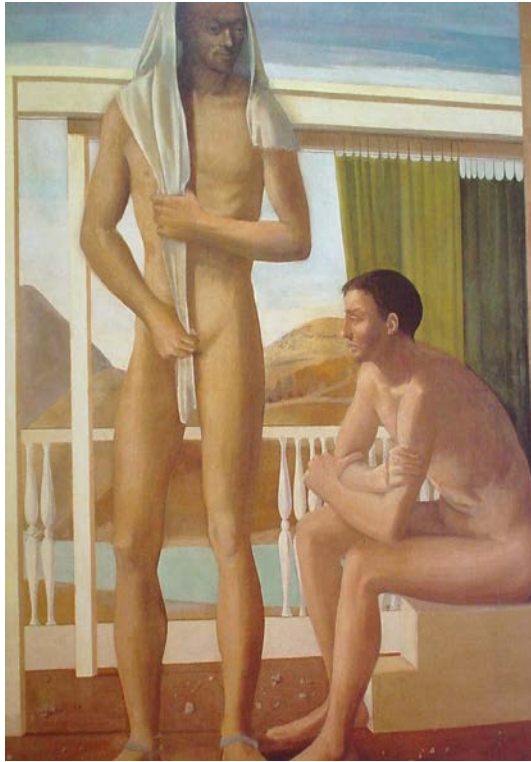


96. Eduardo Paolozzi, Scrapbook (c.1940-45)



97. Eugen Matthais in *Der Mannliche Korper*, Verlag (1931)

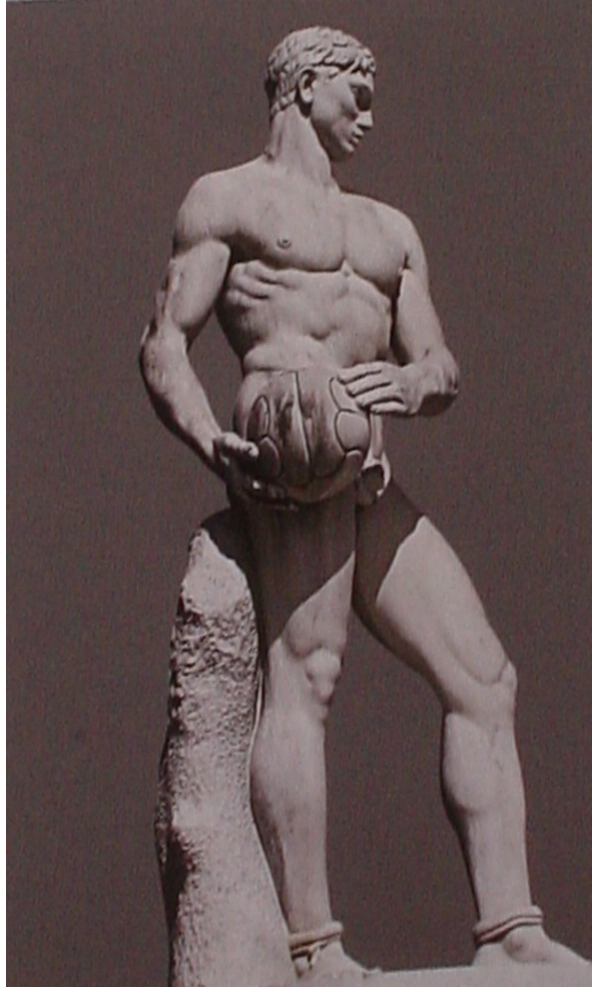
99. Albert Janesch's *Water Sport* (c.1936)



98. Franco Gentilini, *Youth at the Seashore* (1934)



100. Mario Sironi, *The Architect* (c.1933)



101. Statue in Mussolini's Sports Stadium the *Foro Italico* (1933)



102. Renato Bertelli's *Continuous Profile of Mussolini* (*Profilo continuo del Duce*, 1933)



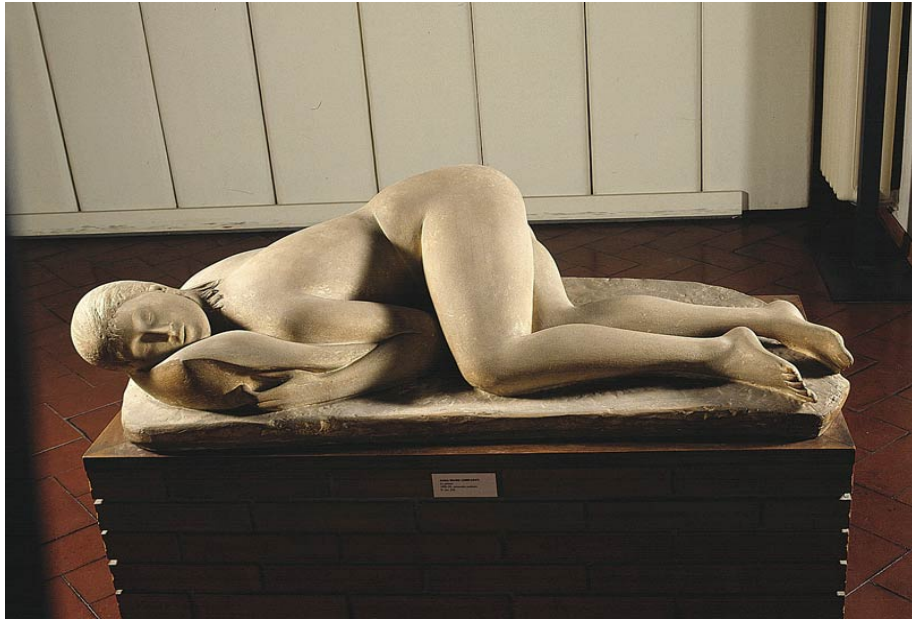
103. Eduardo Paolozzi, 'The Teacher,' Scrapbook (c.1940-5)



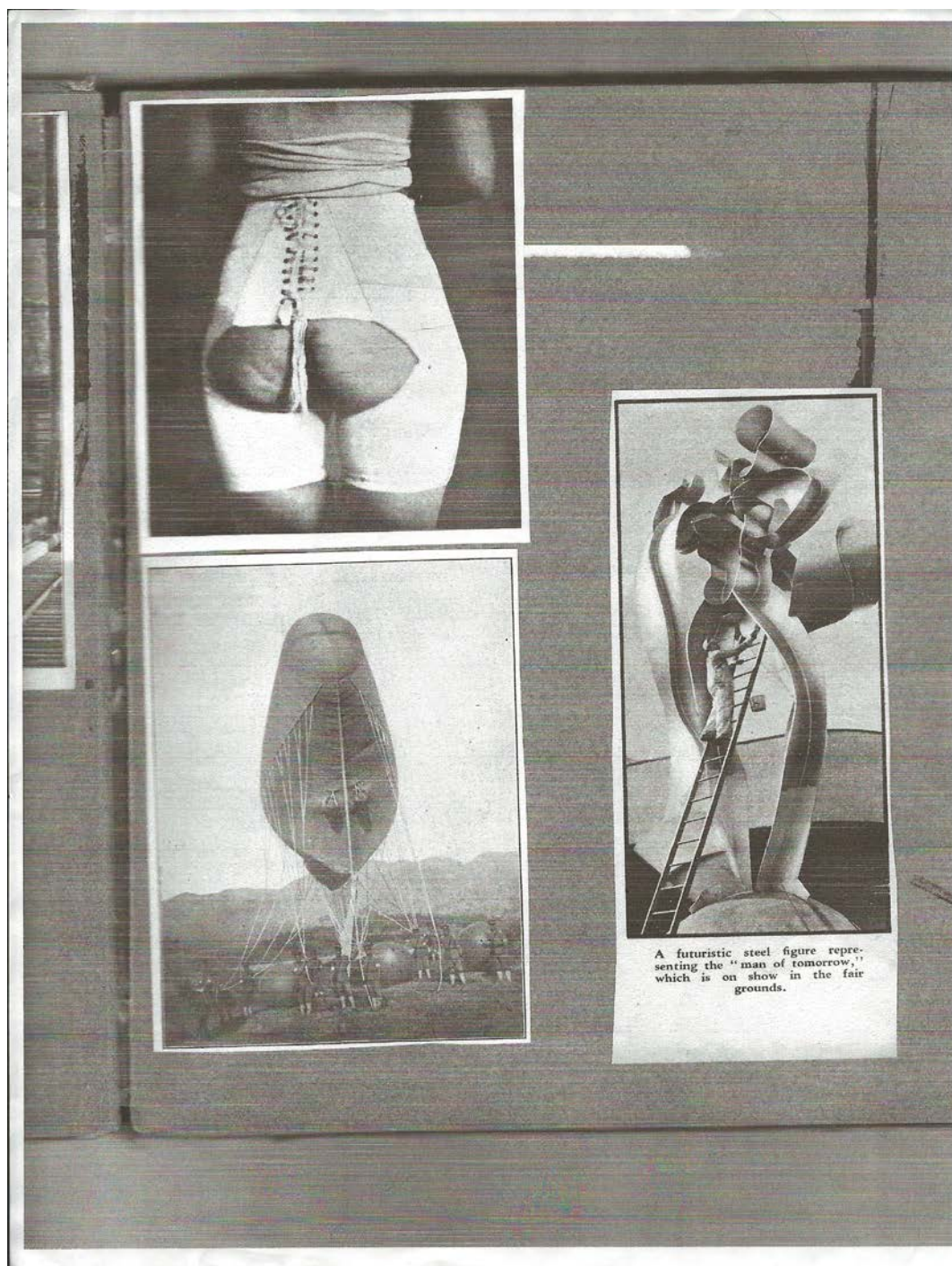
104. Alessandro Bruschetti's *Summary Fascist* (1935)



105. Eduardo Paolozzi, 'Creator of Fascism,' Scrapbook (c.1940-5)



106. Arturo Martini's *The Pisan Girl* (1932-33)



107. **Eduardo Paolozzi, Scrapbook (1940-45)**



108. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Untitled*, Scrapbook (c.1940-5)



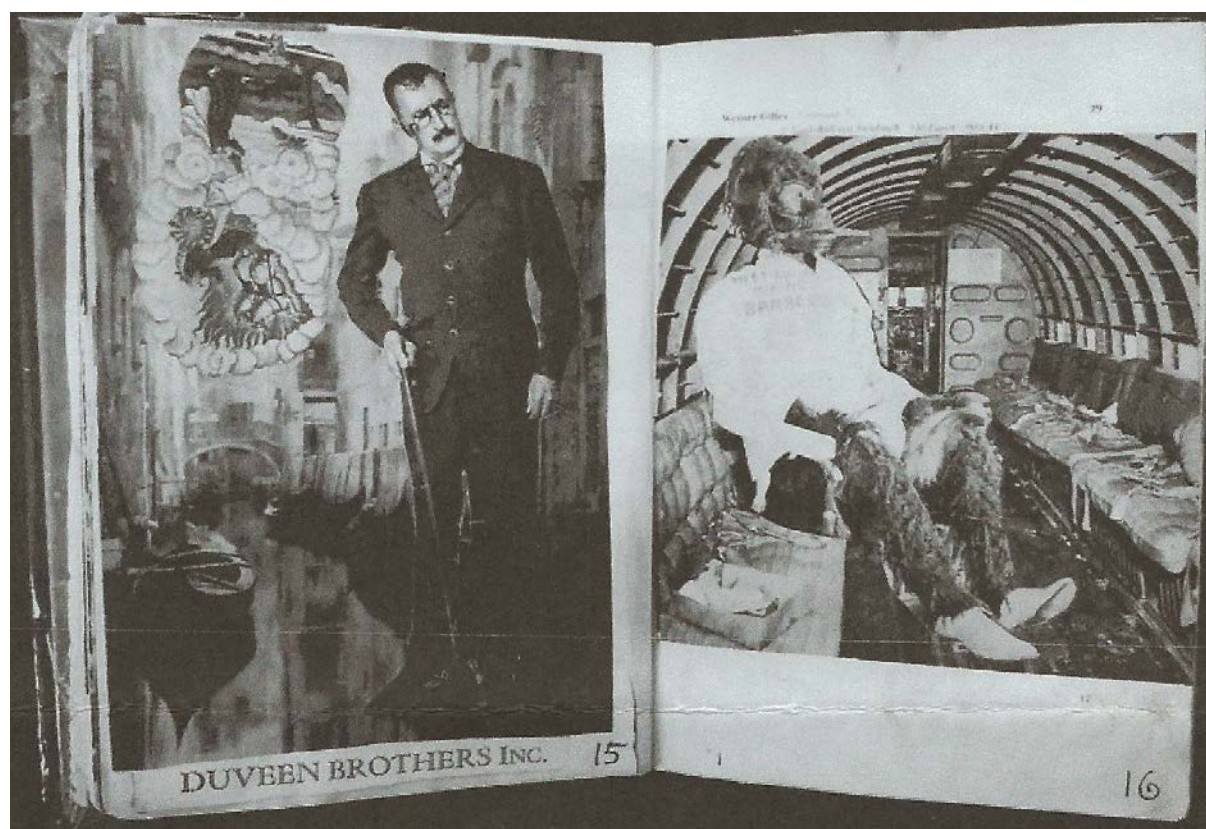
109. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Untitled*, Scrapbook (c.1940-5)



110. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Psychological Atlas* (1947-9)



111. Kurt Schwitters, *This was before HRH the Late Duke of Clarence & Avondale Now it is a Merz picture. Sorry!* (1947)



112. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Psychological Atlas* (1947-9)



113. Eduardo Paolozzi, Mr Atlas, *Psychological Atlas* (1947- 9)



114. Eduardo Paolozzi, Mr Atlas, *Psychological Atlas* (1949)



115. Eduardo Paolozzi, Mr Atlas, *Psychological Atlas* (1947- 9)



116. Bruno Munari, *The unknown forces of the soul and all the comforts required by today's* (1936)



117. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Psychological Atlas* (1947- 9)



118. Bruno Munari, *For the Fifth of a Second* (1936)



119. Bruno Munari, *The unknown forces of the soul and all the comforts required by today's* (1936)



120. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Psychological Atlas* (1947- 9)



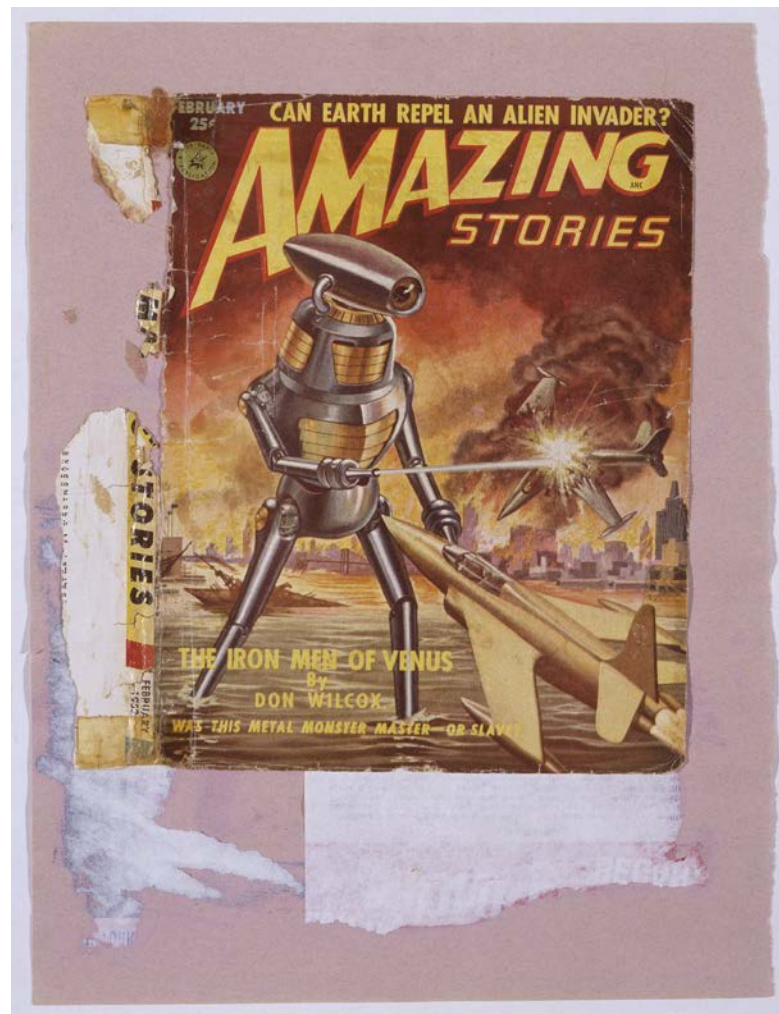
121. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Psychological Atlas* (1947- 9)



122. Francis Bacon, *Man with Microphones* (1946)



123. Francis Bacon, *Head II* (1948-9)



124. Eduardo Paolozzi, *This Metal Monster Master - or Slave?* (1952)



125. Francis Bacon, *The End of the Line* (1953)



126. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Tin Head – Mr Cruikshank* (1950)



127. David Smith's *Saw Head* (1933)



128. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Man's Head* (1952-3)



129. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Automobile Head* (1954)



130. Henry Moore, *Helmet Head No. 1* (1950)



131. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Shattered Head* (c.1956)



132. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Cyclops* (1957)



133. César Baldaccini, *Portrait of Michel Tapié* (1956)



134. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Krokodiel* (1956)



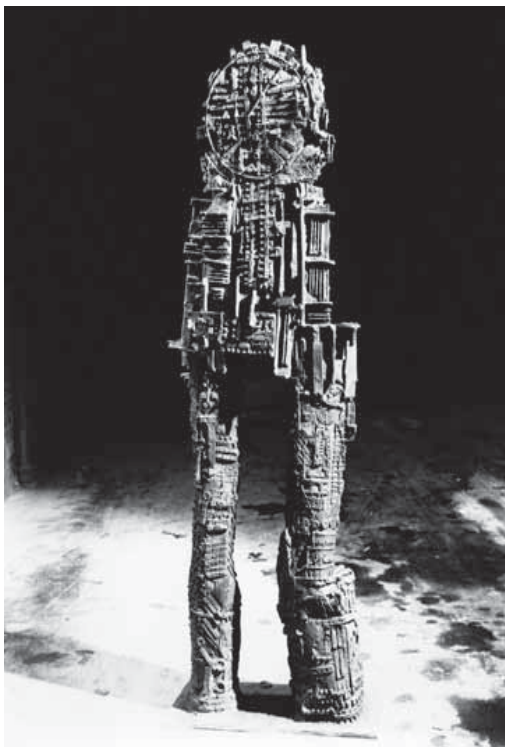
135. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Very Large Head* (1958)



136. Eduardo Paolozzi, *The Philosopher* (1957)



137. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Icarus* (1957)



138. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Japanese War God* (1958)



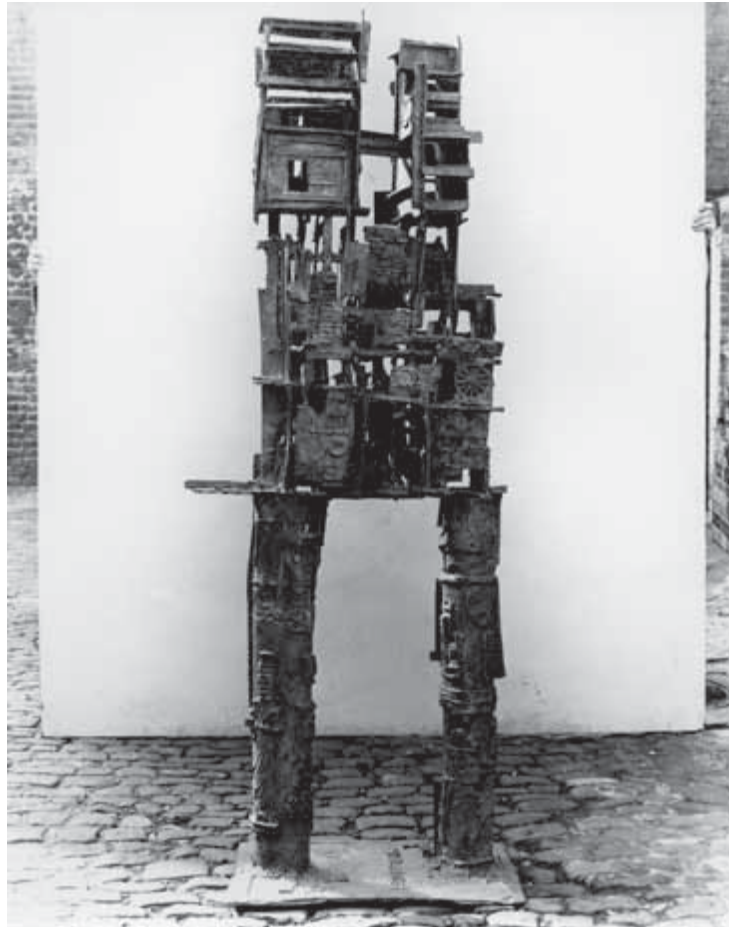
139. Eduardo Paolozzi, *Jason* (1956)



140. Eduardo Paolozzi, *St. Sebastian I* (1957)



141. Eduardo Paolozzi, *St. Sebastian II* (1957)



142. Eduardo Paolozzi, *St. Sebastian III* (1958-9)



143. Umberto Boccioni, *Unique Forms of Continuity in Space* (1913)



144. Umberto Boccioni, *Antigraceful* (1914)



145. David Smith, *The Hero* (1951-2)